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MEMORIALS
OF
OLD WILTSHIRE

STONEHENGE.

The uprights of the Outer Circle on the left are those that fell December 31st, 1900.

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MEMORIALS OF OLD WILTSHIRE

EDITED BY

ALICE DRYDEN

EDITOR OF

"Memorials of Old Northamptonshire"

WITH MANY ILLUSTRATIONS

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19. 11. 37.

LONDON

BEMROSE & SONS LIMITED, 4 SNOW HILL, E.C.

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PREFACE

THE Series of the Memorials of the Counties of England is now so well known that a preface seems unnecessary to introduce the contributed papers, which have all been specially written for the book.

It only remains for the Editor to gratefully thank the contributors for their most kind and voluntary assistance. Her thanks are also due to Lady Antrobus for kindly lending some blocks from her *Guide to Amesbury and Stonehenge*, and for allowing the reproduction of some of Miss C. Miles' unique photographs; and to Mr. Sidney Brakspear, Mr. Britten, and Mr. Witcomb, for the loan of their photographs.

ALICE DRYDEN.

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HISTORIC WILTSHIRE

EVERY lover of his county is apt to claim for it virtues which it may, or may not, possess, but it is no exaggeration to say that Wiltshire is peculiarly rich in interesting remains of past ages. This fact is greatly due to the vast stretches of downland undisturbed by the plough or other methods of cultivation; and these downs are covered with camps, barrows and earthworks, and strewed with implements of those early inhabitants who lived on the high ground at a time when Britain was largely forest and swamp.

One of these memorials of ancient Britain is Silbury Hill near Avebury, which is probably the largest artificial mound in Europe. It is in the shape of a truncated cone, 125 feet high. Its solid contents are somewhere about 13,558,800 cubic feet, and its base circumference 1,657 feet. Its original purpose is still vague, so also is its dates. The fact that the Roman road turns to avoid it proves that it was anterior to the Roman conquest. Some authorities think that 1500 or 2000 B.C. is not an exaggerated date at which to fix its construction. It is undecided whether it was formed for religious worship or as a barrow where some great chieftain was buried; indeed it may have served the same purpose as the pyramids. In the fourteenth Welsh triad it is written that the three mighty labours of the Island of Britain were "erecting the stone of Ketti, constructing the work of Emrys, and heaping the pile of Cyvrangon." Now, the stone of Ketti has been determined as a great cromlech in Glamorganshire, the work of Emrys is Stonehenge; why, therefore, should not the pile of Cyvrangon be the hill of Silbury?

Besides the mysterious erections of stone in different parts of the county, interesting relics of the past are to be found in the dykes, which probably were boundary lines of British tribes. An early Celtic race, the Goidels, were a pastoral people of nomadic habits. The next invaders of this country were the Brythons, who had already begun to practise a primitive form of agriculture, and who, landing on the south, pushed the Goidels north and west, and constructed dykes for the boundaries of their land to serve as a protection against the depredations of flocks and herds, and also to be used for defence in war if necessary.

Bokerley Dyke is in the extreme south; only a fragment remains in Wiltshire, though it can be traced further to the south.[1] Its bank is towards the east. All traces of the dyke to the north have disappeared, but a few miles north-west the names of Bockerley Hill and Bockerley Coppice occur in the neighbourhood of many ancient British remains. Its name is a matter for conjecture; it may be derived from the Welsh Bwrch—a wall or rampart, or, as some authorities think more likely, from the Welsh Bwg—a ghost (as we say a bogey, or in Lancashire a boggart).[2] The old popular idea was that earthworks of this description were the work of the Evil One, such as Devil's Dyke, etc.

The Old Dyke can be traced almost across the county, east and west. Its fosse is to the north, and its probable date about 200 B.C. All along its course are British remains of great antiquity.

Wansdyke, the greatest of all Wiltshire dykes, at one time may have stretched from the Bristol Channel through Somerset and Wiltshire to the Berkshire border.

Wansdyke is a corruption of Woden's dic'. Wanborough was originally Woden's burgh, and Woden was the god of boundaries. Popular tradition says that the

1 Pitt-Rivers' excavations proved it to be Romano-British.
2 "Wiltshire Dykes," by Canon Jones, in *Wilts. Arch. Mag.*, 1874.

dyke was constructed by the devil on a Wednesday. It is not earlier than the Roman period; whether later we cannot tell. Drayton says of it that—

> A mighty mound sith long did he remain
> Between the Mercian rule and the West Saxon reign.

Not so important are the Grimsdykes. The one south of Salisbury can be traced east and west, and by the help of references to it in various charters, as far as Grinstead, or, as it was originally called, Grimestead.

There was also a Grimsdyke north of Salisbury. At one place it runs through the suburb of Wilton, which is called Ditchampton from its proximity to the ditch or dyke.

Grimsdyke may mean boundary ditch, or it may have some reference to its connection with "grim things," *i.e.*, devils. The date of these dykes may be placed somewhere about the fourth and fifth century, A.D.

The Welsh triads speak of Amesbury as being the site of a great monastery where there were 2,400 saints, 100 for every hour of the day and night in rotation. In the middle of the fifth century it was probably the great monastery from whence the blessings of Christianity flowed over the country round.

Amesbury is associated with the early legend of the British King Arthur. Some historians even suggest that Ambrosius, whose chief stronghold was at Old Sarum, might have been the original of this hero of romance. Whether the story of Arthur is all legend or founded on fact, it is not out of place to mention that there is a tradition that Queen Guinevere did penance

> There in the holy house at Almesbury.—*Tennyson.*

Indeed Amesbury was a place of much importance in early times, and in Domesday Book it is mentioned as paying no taxes.

The Romans visited the west in the reign of Claudius, and conferred much benefit on the inhabitants by reason of the roads they constructed.

If[1] the downs are the most characteristic feature of Wiltshire, the great camps and other earthworks are among the most characteristic features of the downs. In the days of the later Stone age and Bronze age, when the lowlands were covered with impenetrable stretches of forest and morass, the inhabitants of Wiltshire lived on the higher ground. For their security, the tribes built the great camps which crown the highest points of the chalk escarpment. Only a very few like Ringsbury are to be found beyond the districts covered by the chalk. These strongholds—no two of them alike, varying greatly in size and shape according to the formation of the ground and the necessities and resources of the builders—have been assigned to Romans, Saxons, and Danes, but though they may have been occupied occasionally by one or other of these races, their origin is to be sought long before Roman or Saxon or Dane set foot in Britain. They seem to have been places of refuge rather than permanent habitations. The line of chalk escarpment where it enters Wiltshire on the north-east is marked by a series of these camps set on the most commanding points at intervals of only a few miles from one another—Lyddington; the great fortress of Barbury; Oldbury; Oliver's Castle at Roundway; Bratton, on the edge of the Pewsey vale; the twin strongholds of Battlesbury and Scratchbury above Warminster; Knook Castle; and Yarnbury with its triple ditches, forming a strong line of fortresses. The camps, strengthened doubtless by wooden stockades, formed excellent defences, but each camp depended on its own strength alone for the safety of the people whose refuge it was in time of need.

Wherever there is a line of chalk escarpment rising from a valley, there we find a line of camps. Along the Avon valley are Chisenby and Casterley, Vespasian's Camp at Amesbury, Ogbury above Durnford, and Old Sarum, greatest of all. On the north side of the Pewsey

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[1] Note by Rev. E. Goddard.

vale, Rybury and Martinsell. There are also Sidbury, an isolated point at Ludgershall, Chlorus's Camp near the Hampshire border, and on the south edge of the county, Castle Rings, Winkelbury, Castle Ditches, with Chiselbury guarding the ridge above Compton Chamberlayne.

Of later earthworks of the time of the Norman conquest, whose precise date, whether before or after the conquest, has been the subject of much recent controversy, only a few examples are to be found in Wiltshire, of which the most important is "The Moot" at Downton, much altered in recent times.

The Roman roads in Wiltshire radiate from Old Sarum —the Roman station Sorbiodunum. From these imposing earthworks a road runs north to Marlborough, another north-east to Silchester, another east to Winchester, and one south-west to Dorchester, passing through the little village of Stratford-sub-Castle whose name shows that the street here crossed the ford, goes on to Badbury. The fifth road goes west, and runs through Groveley. This road is difficult to trace, and although Hoare gives a map of it, he confesses himself at fault occasionally.

A Roman road runs from Marlborough across north Wiltshire to Bath. The Wansdyke has been built on it at one place. It is this road that turns to avoid Silbury Hill, and it may still be traced across the county.

Wiltshire was the scene of many fierce struggles between the Saxons and the Britons, as the latter were pushed slowly westward.

In the *Saxon Chronicle*, under the year 508 A.D., stands this entry, which has given rise to much discussion:—

> Now, Cerdic and Cynric slew a British King whose name was Natan Leod, and five thousand men with him. Then after that the land was called Natan-leaga as far as Cerdic's ford.[1]

[1] There never was a British King of that name, and it has been explained that Natan-leod might be a title of honour, the first part of the word from the Welsh nawt—a sanctuary—and, although leod is not in the A. S. dictionaries, it is used in A. S. poems in the sense of Prince.

The fighting continued, and in 552 Cynric came over the downs to Sorbiodunum and made himself master of Salisbury Plain. Four years later Cynric and Ceawlin were victorious over the British at Barbury Hill, and in 591 the *Saxon Chronicle* tells of a great slaughter of British at Wanborough. More than fifty years later the King of the West Saxons fought at Bradford-on-Avon, but the *Chronicle* does not state who his opponents were. Later a great struggle began between the Kings of Wessex and Mercia, the latter being defeated at Wanborough and again in a more decisive battle at Ellendune 821.

St. Aldhelm, the Wessex saint, though more often associated with Dorset than with Wilts., was for thirty years Abbot of Malmesbury, and in 705 founded a monastery at Bradford-on-Avon. It was at the Witan-agemote held at Bradford that Dunstan was elected Bishop of Worcester. Dunstan, who became later Archbishop of Canterbury, held in the year 976 a synod at Calne, of which synod strange things are told. The meeting related to the grievance the priests imagined themselves to have against the monks, because the latter held benefices. During the synod the floor gave way, and the assemblage were precipitated below and more or less seriously injured, with the exception of Dunstan, the floor beneath his chair remaining firm. As he was the chief supporter of the monks, this incident was looked upon as a miracle in their favour; it has also been suggested that Dunstan, fearing the issue would go against his party, had caused the beams supporting the floor to be sawn through.

Wiltunscire is first mentioned by that name about the time of Alfred's accession, taking its name from Wilton, the chief town of the tribe Wilsaetas, which was also one of the most important places in Wessex and a royal residence of Saxon kings. Before that it may be perhaps identified with Caervillium, capital of the British King Caervillius.

After its occupation by Anglo-Saxon Kings, Wilton

became the seat of a religious house for seculars in 773, for Benedictine nuns under a Prioress in 800, and an enlarged monastery under an Abbess in 871.

Wulftrude, the Abbess of Wilton 968-1000, had been abducted by King Edgar, and their daughter was St. Edith of Wilton, who some say became Abbess of Wilton at the age of fifteen. Her early death was foretold by St. Dunstan at the consecration of a chapel in honour of St. Denis that she had built. Miracles were worked by her remains, and she became the patron saint of the Abbey.

The Bishopric of Wilton was created about 909, and the title is applicable to both the town and county. The Bishops had their seats at Ramsbury, Sunning or Wilton, until Bishop Hermann united the See to that of Sherborne and removed his seat to Old Sarum, where he died about 1078.

It was during the eighth and ninth centuries that the Danes raided England, and it was in 871, towards the end of May, that one of those enigmatic contests took place at Wilton, in which the Danes were put to flight, and yet encamped upon the field of battle.[1]

This was Alfred's first encounter with the Danes as King, the battle taking place a month after Ethelred's death. Possibly Alfred's victory was followed up by a disorderly pursuit, which gave the Danes an advantage. Both sides must have suffered severely, and peace was made for a time afterwards.

Seven years later the Danes returned in force and went northward to Chepynham, or Chippenham,[2] and made it their headquarters for harrying expeditions, their object being to catch Alfred at home, he having a residence there; and it was at Chippenham that his sister was married to the King of Mercia.

With the advent of the Danes to Chippenham Alfred

1 *The Life and Times of Alfred the Great.* Rev. C. Plummer.
2 *On the History of Chippenham.* Rev. J. E. Jackson.

went into retirement in the Isle of Athelney, from whence he emerged a few months later with renewed vigour, and moved with his men to Brixton Deverill, near Warminster.[1] It was evidently a preconceived movement, for he was immediately joined by levies from Somerset, Wiltshire, and part of Hampshire, and the very next day he continued his march to Leigh, or probably to Edington, and meeting the Danes under Gunthrum at Ethandune, defeated them, the vanquished submitting to the terms of the peace of Wedmore, or Chippenham.

In 1003, under Svend (or Sweyn) the Danes burnt Wilton, and coming to Sarum, treated it in the same manner. In 1011 Svend and Canute again visited Wilton and levied contributions from the inhabitants. An Anglo-Saxon army had assembled near Corsham, where Ethelred the King lay sick, but the treachery of Ealderman Edric caused it to be dispersed without battle being offered to the invaders. About 1016 Edmund Ironsides, then King of the Anglo-Saxons, met Canute in battle near Malmesbury, the issue of which battle seems to have been indecisive. Both William the Conqueror and William Rufus held councils at Sarum, but the first is far the most important. It is known as the Great Gemote (1086) and at it appeared not only the chief tenants, but the sub-tenants, as says the Chronicles—"There came to him . . . all the landowning men there were all over England whosesoever men they were, and all bowed down before him and became his men, and swore oaths of fealty to him."

Stephen and Maud seem to have made Wiltshire one of the chief battle-grounds for fighting out their rival claims, and the castles continually changed hands, as first one party and then the other became the strongest temporarily.

Bishop Roger, the warlike Prelate of Salisbury, who

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1 *The Life and Times of Alfred the Great.* Rev. C. Plummer.

had been Henry's Chancellor, garrisoned his castles of Malmesbury, Sarum, Devizes, and Sherborne, in the name of the Empress Maud. He was taken prisoner by Stephen in 1139 together with his nephew Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, and his son Roger, who had succeeded him as Chancellor.

Another nephew, Nigel, Bishop of Ely, was holding Devizes Castle,[1] in which was also the younger Roger's mother, Matilda of Ramsbury; the surrender of the castle was the price demanded and paid for her son's life and her husband's safety.

In 1141 Stephen arrived at Wilton and began to fortify the Abbey, but was interrupted by the arrival of Robert Earl of Gloucester and the King of Scotland, who drove him from the town. During the remainder of the civil war the castles changed hands with monotonous rapidity. In 1233 Hubert de Burgh was kept a prisoner in Devizes Castle; later Edward I. made it the starting point of his expedition against the Welsh in 1281. Leland speaks of it in his time as being in a ruined state, but having yet "divers goodly towers in the outer wall."

In the year 1164 a Commission met at the Royal Manor of Clarendon, near Salisbury, and there the famous Constitutions of Clarendon were drawn up, which constitute one of the great charters of English liberty. The ruins of the Royal Manor can still be seen in the Park. After the battle of Poictiers, 1357, a royal hunt took place at Clarendon, where three kings—Edward of England, John of France, and David of Scotland—rode side by side.

During Jack Cade's rebellion an insurrection broke out in Wiltshire, and Ayscough, Bishop of Salisbury, whose connection with the King had made him unpopular, fled for safety to Edington. He was attacked there, dragged

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[1] The name The Devizes has been the subject of some speculation; the castle was evidently near the boundary, and was formerly called the Castle of the Vies. To this day the country people speak of it as "Vise."

from the Church where he was celebrating mass, and stoned to death on a neighbouring hill on the plea that he was always absent with the King, Henry VI., as his confessor, and kept no hospitality in his diocese. Edington deserves notice for its fine Church, built in 1352-1361 by William of Edington, a native of the place, who became Bishop of Winchester and Lord Treasurer of England. Fuller relates of him that during his tenure of the latter office, "he caused new coins (unknown before) to be made (groats and half-groats), both readier for change and fitter for charity. But the worst was *imminuto nonnihil pondere* (the weight was somewhat abated). If any say that this was an unepiscopal act, know, he did it not as Bishop, but as Lord Treasurer." Later he became Lord Chancellor, and founded at Edington a monastery of Bonhommes, at the request of the Black Prince, there being only one other house of this Order in England.

After Cade's rebellion there is not much of moment in the history of the county till the Reformation, which entailed the dissolution of religious houses, and the consequent transfer of property. Of some of these houses, like Edington and Wilton, there is little or no trace, but of several, notably Lacock, Bradenstoke, Malmesbury, Monkton Farleigh, and Kington St. Michael, there are considerable remains.

The Abbey of Wilton had been rebuilt by Edward the Confessor's wife, the Lady Edith, "she pressing on the work in pious rivalry with her husband," who was building Westminster Abbey. To Wilton the widow of Edward the Confessor retired and lived in a semi-regal state. It seems a little uncertain if Christina, the sister of Edgar Atheling, was Abbess of Wilton or not. Freeman states that she took the veil in the Abbey of Romsey and became Abbess there.

Edith, the Atheling's niece, the wife of Henry I., is said to have been educated at Wilton Abbey, but Romsey seems a very probable alternative to this suggestion. At

the conquest Wilton was one of the most important royal towns, as can be estimated from its taxation, and Henry I., who, as part of his policy, had granted municipal charters to London and Winchester, gave the same to Wilton about the year 1100, granting it all the privileges of the two former towns.

The Abbesses of Wilton, as also those of Barking, St. Mary's Winchester, and Shaftesbury, by virtue of their office, ranked as Baronesses, and in 1306 the Abbess of Wilton was summoned to Parliament at Westminster. Just before the dissolution of monasteries Henry VIII. had a curious correspondence with Anne Boleyn, refusing to allow a favourite of hers to be nominated Abbess of Wilton. "I wolde not," he writes to Wolsey, "for all the gold in the worlde clog your conscience nor mine to make her a ruler of a house which is of so ungodly a demeanour."

At the dissolution the Abbey lands were granted to Sir William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke (brother-in-law of Queen Catharine Parr), but nothing is now left of the famous Abbey which in its day was one of the greatest in England, except one small building near the stables, which was known as "The Court of the Belhouse." The town of Wilton had fallen from its high estate and become of secondary importance to the much younger town of New Sarum.

Leland, himself a Prebend of Salisbury, tells us that at one time there were twelve churches in Wilton, and the identification of their sites has proved his correctness.

A tournament was held in 1194 between the inhabitants of Wilton and Old Sarum, and the site of the mimic battle is still shown.

After the dissolution of the Abbey, Wilton was still held high in royal favour. Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth visited it; and it was during his visits to

Sydney's sister, Pembroke's mother,

that Sir Philip Sydney composed his *Arcadia*. James I.

held court at Wilton, where Shakespeare and his company performed before him—the first folio of Shakespeare was dedicated to the two noble brothers the Earls of Pembroke and Montgomery; while Aubrey tells us that Charles I. "loved Wilton above all other places."

At Wilton[1] also was St. John's Priory, Ditchampton, which was founded in 1189 by Hubert, Bishop of Salisbury, and seems to have been connected in some way with the Knights Hospitallers. It was not dissolved at the Reformation, being considered in the light of a charitable rather than a religious institution. Considerable remains are still extant, including the chapel, where services continue to be held by the Prior.

The Benedictine Abbey of Amesbury was founded *circa* 980 by Elfrida to expiate the treacherous murder of her stepson at Corfe. The nuns were expelled for dissolute living by Henry II., and the Abbey given to the Nunnery of Fontevrault.

King John conferred important privileges on the Abbey. Mary, daughter of Edward I., took the veil there in 1283, and in 1287, Eleanor, wife of Henry III., took the veil there and died in Amesbury Abbey 1292. The Abbey was dissolved in 1540, and bestowed on Protector Somerset, a Wiltshire man. Later on, when in the hands of the Queensberrys, it became the residence of the famous Duchess—

> Kitty, beautiful and young,
> And wild as colt untamed.
>
> —*Prior.*

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[1] The revocation of the Edict of Nantes, 1685, brought to England many skilled weavers. Some of these workmen settled in Wilton, and established a carpet manufactory, which proved so successful that it had to be protected from rival factories by a charter granted by William III., in 1701, forming these skilled artizans into a corporate body. Their motto is, "Weave trust with truth." The factory enjoyed the patronage of the 9th Earl of Pembroke, who brought workmen from Flanders to assist in developing the local trade. In 1835, the looms and drawings of the Axminster manufactory were transferred to Wilton. The factory, after many vicissitudes, is at present—owing to the patronage of Lord Pembroke—in a flourishing condition.

Another interesting monastic relic in Wiltshire is Monkton Farleigh, originally the site of a priory of the Cluniac order, founded about 1125. The buildings that remain are kitchens, cellars, offices, and the well house. There are also indications of the chapel, the refectory, two very fine lancet windows standing complete, and the foundations of domestic offices and probably dormitories. The well house has an exquisitely groined roof, and dates from about 1250.

Unlike most monastic erections, Bradenstoke Priory stands on a hill. It was built in 1142 by Walter d'Evreux, of Salisbury, and has been continuously occupied ever since. The great hall, vaulted undercroft, and massive walls, still stand in good preservation. The Priory, which was under the rule of the Black or Austin Friars, was dissolved in 1539. The adjoining earthworks were probably used by Britons, Romans and Saxons in succession.

Stanley Abbey is now totally destroyed, and, like other sacred edifices, formed a quarry for the neighbourhood, where its carved stones may still be found in barns and other buildings. The Abbey was founded by the Empress Maud in 1151. The buildings were started on the hill at Lockswell, but the monks soon moved down to the rich land below. The buildings of the Abbey took nearly a century to complete.

The Abbey was suppressed in 1537. The present owner holds a very extensive collection of charters relating to the Abbey, including those granted by Maud, Henry II., Richard I. (one dating from Messina, Sicily, in 1191), John, Henry III., and others.

At Kington St. Michael, on the priory estate, stand some remains of a Benedictine house, and stone coffins have been dug up in the terraced garden. At Ivychurch, Alderbury, was an Augustinian Priory founded by Henry II. This, too, stood on a hill, but very little of the monastic building remains.

After the Reformation, the great landmark in the

history of Wiltshire, as of so many counties, is the rebellion, of which Clarendon, a Wiltshire man, was the historian. During the Civil War Wardour was besieged and taken by Sir Edward Hungerford, garrisoned by Ludlow, and re-taken by the Royalists. In September, Essex was attacked and defeated on Aldbourne Chase by Charles I. and Prince Rupert; the next year Malmesbury surrendered to Waller, but was speedily re-taken, and Waller defeated at Lansdown, and a few days later at Devizes by Colonel Wilmot. In 1644 Sir William Balfour and his Parliamentary forces plundered Salisbury. At the end of the same year important developments took place in the west, and the King arrived at Salisbury.

Waller was at Andover, and it was proposed that the King and Prince Maurice, who was at Wilton, should join forces and march on Andover. The rendezvous was fixed for seven in the morning at Clarendon, and the King was there punctually, but for some reason never satisfactorily explained Prince Maurice was four hours late, and Waller received news of the advance in time.

In 1645 the opposing forces under Goring, Waller, Fairfax, and Cromwell, met and skirmished in Wiltshire, first one party and then another occupying the principal towns. After the battle of Naseby, Fairfax passed through Marlborough and Amesbury on his way to Salisbury, and later in the same year Cromwell caused Langford House (now Longford Castle) to surrender. About this time armed bands of clubmen were organized in the western counties to withstand the violence of soldiers of both parties.

There are many houses which claim to have sheltered Charles II. after the fatal battle of Worcester. He spent one night at least at Heale House, near Durnford;[1] indeed it was from Heale that final arrangements were made for his flight to France. The Royalist rising under Colonel Penruddocke, which took place in 1654, during

[1] Heale House has been practically rebuilt since that period.

the Commonwealth period, is dealt with at length elsewhere.

Edmund Ludlow, a noted Parliamentarian general, born in the parish of Maiden Bradley, was a Wiltshire man, and so was also the famous Edward Hyde, who took his title from the Manor of Clarendon, near Salisbury.

It was at Salisbury that the forces of James II. assembled, and it was there that Lord Churchill, afterwards better known as the Duke of Marlborough, deserted the King. Shortly afterwards William, Prince of Orange, made a triumphal entry into Salisbury, and on his way to London held a conference at Hungerford; and thence retired to Littlecote, the old house of the Darrels and Pophams in Wiltshire, where, on December 9th, 1688, the Commissioners dined.

Since the reign of William III. Wiltshire has been happy in having little or no history, but passing mention may be made of Old Sarum, which, although merely an earthen castle with perhaps three cottages near by, returned two members to Parliament. It was one of the rotten boroughs disfranchised by the Reform Bill 1832. William Pitt, afterwards Earl of Chatham, at one time sat as member, his father having purchased the burgage of Old Sarum.

In brief, the history of Wiltshire is mainly a thing of the ancient years, and as the history of the country has increased in importance, that of the county of Wiltshire has decreased, until at the present time she sleeps in peace, untroubled by the turmoils of the world at large.

M. EDWARDS.

THREE NOTABLE HOUSES

WILTSHIRE can boast of still possessing many ancient houses, lying, most of them, in out-of-the-way places, and almost forgotten in the constant changes which tend to remove ancient families from their old habitations, and reduce the manor-house to the status of a farmhouse. These relics of former stateliness, becoming thenceforward places of business rather than of luxury, gradually lose their ornamental features, and are only so far preserved as they fulfil the utilitarian purposes to which they have been devoted.

Of great houses, the seats of families which still maintain the eminent position which their ancestors attained, there are scarcely so many as the size of the county might lead one to expect, and some of the important mansions have been rebuilt within a period comparatively so recent as to remove them from the scope of a book on "Old Wiltshire." There are, nevertheless, a few ancient houses of sufficient interest and importance to illustrate the methods of building and the modes of decoration which our forefathers adopted after the period when the necessity for defensive precautions had ceased to be urgent.

It was in Elizabeth's days that luxurious building became the fashion. There were many new families, tracing, it is true, their origin to very ancient sources, who found it incumbent on them to have new homes. Whatever ancestry they may have had, there was no doubt

LONGFORD HOUSE.

about their wealth, acquired in most cases through the commanding ability of one of their members; and a large portion of this wealth was devoted to the erection of fine houses which vied with each other in extent and magnificence. This is true of the whole country. Numberless examples might be cited in all parts of the land of the purchase of estates by men much richer and more powerful than their ancestors, who forthwith proceeded to enlarge or rebuild the old houses which they had acquired. In Wiltshire, Wilton, Longleat, and Longford are cases in point. The last-named was bought by Sir Thomas Gorges from the mortgagee, who had foreclosed in the year 1573 on the last of the former possessors—an extravagant spendthrift whose long descent had not led him into virtuous paths. It was not a little annoying, therefore, for the new but blameless owner to be haunted (as he was) by the dispossessed rake, and to be made the subject of unflattering comparisons in point of lineage. Sir Thomas, however, bore the annoyance in a kindly spirit, and did what he could to help his wayward visitor from the consequence of his own follies.

Sir Thomas soon proceeded to rebuild the house which he had bought, and he adopted a plan for his new home which was as curious as any which that fanciful age produced. In shape it was a triangle with a round tower at each point. There is only one other building in England in which the three-sided form was deliberately selected, and that is the Triangular Lodge at Rushton, in Northamptonshire,[1] a small but extremely curious building intended as a Warrener's lodge. But one of the most active surveyors of that time, or architects as we should now call them, named John Thorpe, has left a large number of designs for houses, among which there are several founded on equally odd *motifs*, the quaintest of which is the adoption of the designer's initials, I T, as the plan of the house.

1 See *Memorials of Old Northamptonshire*, page 129; also *The Buildings of Sir Thomas Tresham*, by J. A. Gotch.

This idea was never, so far as is known, actually carried out in bricks and mortar, but it was thoroughly elaborated on paper; and it is the author of this conceit who is responsible, in all probability, for the design of Longford, since not only a plan, but also an "upright," or view, of the principal front are to be found among the collection of Thorpe's drawings. The "upright" agrees in almost every particular with the work as executed, whereas the plan only agrees in its general shape and disposition, the spacing and allotment of the rooms differing widely from those shewn in a careful survey of the house made in the seventeenth century by one Robert Thacker, some sixty years after its building. The legend is that Longford Castle was designed in imitation of the Castle of Uraniberg, in Denmark, familiar in her early life to Sir Thomas' wife, Helena Snachenberg, who came to England in the train of Cecilia, daughter of Eric King of Sweden, and subsequently became a maid of honour to Queen Elizabeth. But the truth of the legend may be doubted in view of the existence of Thorpe's drawings, and of the fact that the very curious form of the plan is equalled if not excelled in eccentricity by others drawn by the same hand. Another legend is to the effect that the foundations swallowed the whole of the funds at the disposal of Sir Thomas, and that the work bade fair to come to an end, when one of the galleons of the Spanish Armada was cast ashore near Hurst Castle, of which Sir Thomas was the governor; and Lady Gorges, having obtained a grant of it from the Queen, found on board a treasure of sufficient amount to carry the erection of the new castle to a happy conclusion, about the year 1591. The cost amounted to some £18,000, without counting £6,000 spent on the outbuildings, or the further cost of levelling and laying out the gardens. For half-a-century the castle remained in the family who rebuilt it, but it was sold in 1641 to Hugh Hare, Lord Coleraine. Shortly after this it was garrisoned for the King in the Civil Wars, but was

speedily taken by Cromwell. Between King and Parliament it fared badly, and when its new owner at length came into peaceable possession in 1650, he found much work requiring to be done. He set about this at once, and it was after it was "repaired and beautified" that Robert Thacker made the survey and views already mentioned. The Coleraines held the property till the year 1717, when it was bought by Sir Edward Bouverie, whose descendant, the Earl of Radnor, still possesses it. The new purchaser, as usual, proceeded to modernize the old house, and since his time it has been altered and enlarged so considerably that there is very little of the original structure left at the present day. The two round towers on the garden side are original, and the entrance front has been re-erected with the old materials and features slightly re-arranged; but practically everything else has been renewed. The interior has been largely replanned, and the triangular court has been roofed over, to the great increase of the comfort of the house.

The difference in treatment between the circular towers and the arcaded front is not easy to explain; they must have been built within a few years of each other, and they are shewn with tolerable correctness on Thorpe's "upright," who, as already said, was in all probability responsible for the plan. It may be that the towers were completed before the stoppage of the works from lack of funds, and that when building was resumed a more decidedly classic treatment was adopted for the intervening façade. As we shall presently see, it was no uncommon thing for work which was not sufficiently "regular" to comply with the fashion, to be rebuilt or greatly enlarged, even although only a few years old.

There is nothing much left of ancient interest inside the house; everything has been modernized; but the quaint triangular shape of the original arrangement can still be seen on the front and garden side.

The gardens themselves were remodelled about the

middle of last century, and were restored to the formal disposition which existed before "Capability" Brown wrought such wholesale destruction among the beautiful work of an earlier time. The statues, vases, and pavilion with which they are adorned, set off the house itself, and serve to connect it without too much abruptness with the surrounding landscape.

Longford Castle was identified by the learned Mr. Pelat with the castle of Amphialus in Sir Philip Sydney's *Arcadia;* but it is difficult to understand how this could have been done, for the descriptions of Amphialus' castle do not apply to Longford, as indeed how could they, seeing that Sir Philip died in 1586, two years before the lucky wreck of the Spanish galleon? Spenser's description of Alma's castle in the *Faerie Queen* is more apt, for

> The frame thereof seemed partly circulare
> And part triangulare,

but the details which go to fill in the frame have no relation to Sir Thomas Gorges' work.

The romantic spirit which pervaded all the earlier work of Elizabeth's days, and produced in one direction the *Arcadia* and in another the triangular house of Longford, was, so far as architecture was concerned, gradually evaporating under the pressure of rules and the increasing desire for regularity But the movement towards complete formality was very uneven, and of two neighbouring houses built within a few years of each other, the earlier will often display a stricter regularity of treatment than the later. So it is with Longford, in the east of the county, and Longleat, in the west.

Longleat stands on the site of a dissolved Priory, which was purchased by Sir John Thynne in the year 1540, and was converted by him into a dwelling-house in much the same way as Sir William Sharington was, during the same years, adapting the ancient Abbey at Lacock to

LONGLEAT—EAST FAÇADE.

similar purposes.[1] But Sir John's alterations became in time much more drastic than Sir William's, and it is doubtful whether any remains of the original building still survive at Longleat, whereas at Lacock there is a considerable amount of beautiful mediæval work, carefully preserved, and much of it actually brought to light, by the owner, Mr. C. H. Talbot. It was in 1547 that Sir John Thynne set seriously to work in rebuilding his house, and from certain letters which have been preserved, we learn that a room was to be built over the old Chapel, and that a new "Lodging" of many bedrooms was to be erected, and was to have gables ornamented at the apex with carved animals, which were to be worked by a mason of the name of John Chapman.

It is always interesting to get at the names of the workmen who executed the ornamental work of Elizabethan houses; the work, that is, which shews the greatest amount of the Italian influence which was then affecting English architecture so deeply. It might be expected that the names would be Italian, or would at least have a foreign appearance, and in some few cases this is so; but by far the greater number are unmistakably English, and among them is this John Chapman. That he was a skilful workman is proved by the fact that he was borrowed by Sir William Sharington to do some work at Lacock, and that when (in 1553) Sir John Thynne asked to have him back, he was engaged upon a chimney which he was just about to take to Dudley for the Duke of Northumberland. The work which is attributed to him at Lacock, including two charming stone tables, is of much distinction, and thoroughly infused with the Italian or quasi-Italian spirit of the time.

Another very interesting light is thrown upon the methods of work in those days by the application in 1547 of one Charles Williams, who had travelled over

[1] See "Lacock Abbey."

Italy and was anxious to do the internal decorations "after the Italian fashion." This is one of the few pieces of evidence that English artificers actually travelled to Italy in order to study the fashionable style of decoration; but it goes to show that there was a certain amount of first-hand knowledge brought to bear upon the design of ornament, as well as the second-hand knowledge derived from books.

The building operations seem to have continued for many years, and in 1554 another "New Lodging" was commenced, on the decoration of which a "cunning playsterer" was employed whose name is not known; but he was so "cunning" a workman that Sir William Cavendish and his wife wrote twice to request his services at Hardwick. The house that he was to embellish in 1554 could not have been the well-known "Hardwick Hall, more glass than wall," for that house was built by Bess of Hardwick about the year 1576, after her second husband, Sir William Cavendish, had died, and she had become Countess of Shrewsbury by marrying her fourth husband. The house referred to in the two letters must have been the older house, of which the remains still exist on the terrace in front of Hardwick Hall, and in which Bess is said to have been born. It seems odd that a house of such size and pretentions as the "old" hall should have been superseded by a new one before it had been built many years, but several examples might be cited (and among them Longleat, as will presently be shown) of large houses having been built about the middle of the sixteenth century, only to be remodelled a few years afterwards on a still more magnificent scale.

Five years later, in 1559, another "new building" was erected, of which the original contract is preserved. The builder was William Spicer, of Nunney, near Longleat, and the work was to be done "according to a plan agreed upon between Sir John Thynne and himself." The chimneys were to be columns 17 feet high, a form

frequently adopted in order to introduce a feature of distinctly classic or Italian appearance. The windows of the "forefront" were to match the great window which was already there. The hall was to be 30 feet wide, and there was to be a long gallery on the north side of the second story, 120 feet long and 17 feet wide. The later stipulations indicate a house of very considerable dimensions, and they are quite in accordance with the prevailing fashion, which always sought to obtain a fine hall, and a gallery as long as the house would possibly permit. Many galleries were much longer than this, some being as much as 200 feet, but still Sir John might fairly pride himself on his gallery at Longleat. There is no information as to how this building progressed, but after another interval of a few years we learn that in 1566 the foundations of the cellars were laid by Richard Jervis, a master bricklayer receiving 16d. per day. Before a year was out, namely, on 21st April, 1567, a great fire occurred, which stopped the work for nine months. It has been supposed that this fire consumed Richard Jervis's work, but that was before so much was known of the earlier building operations, and it is quite likely that it may have destroyed some of the existing house itself. At any rate, the cost of re-instating the damage was a few shillings short of £1,020. The work was begun again in the following January, and was continued till the year 1578, when the accounts end.

It is the work of the years 1566 to 1578 which made Longleat the "magnificent structure" of the family historian; the "most regular building in the kingdom," as it is called by Colin Campbell in his *Vitruvius Britannicus;* and the fine building of which the shell remains to-day. It quite superseded the large house which had just been built, although portions of the latter were incorporated in it, and doubtless the gables which Kip shews in his view, and some of which remain in the court, are survivals of those mentioned as being prominent

features of the "New Lodging." But the long gallery on the north side seems to have disappeared, since nothing of it is shewn on Colin Campbell's plan, and the spacious gallery which he mentions must have been on the south front.

The exact history of the building and rebuilding cannot be made out from the available records, but it seems tolerably certain that for twenty years, namely, from 1547 to 1567, a fine house was being built, which retained many of the traditional features of English houses, and that during the next ten years this fine house was enlarged and so altered as to make it more Italian in appearance, and to assume that "regular" character which appealed so strongly to the classic taste of Mr. Colin Campbell.

Some interest again attaches to the workmen engaged upon the new building, as indeed it necessarily must, inasmuch as it was often these men rather than an outside designer who gave the houses upon which they were employed the style distinctive of the period. Whereas it was the skilful John Chapman who imparted its character to the first house; a "cunning playsterer" who embellished its next enlargement; it was now a mason named Robert Smithson who was sent to superintend the great work of 1567 and the following years. He came from "Master Vice-Chamberlaine's," and was to receive 1s. 4d. per day, together with the use of a "nag," while his men were to have 1s. per day. He stayed at Longleat for several years, in spite of some dissatisfaction expressed in a joint letter from himself and the head carpenter to Sir John Thynne, in which they say that "in all England there ys none that hathe taken in hande to sett out the lyke works, that hath resaved lesser profett and lesser thanks than we." Additional interest attaches to Smithson's connection with Longleat from the fact that a mason of the same name was responsible for much of the work at the great house of Wollaton, near Nottingham, which was built during the years immediately after the completion of Longleat.

It has not been definitely ascertained whether the two Smithsons were actually the same man, but there is a very close resemblance between the mason-work of the two houses, and although the same moulds were certainly not used, yet the details may well have been designed by the same hand. Any migrations of a master-workman which can be established are of interest as throwing light upon the manner in which the new style spread over the country.

It is said that Scotch masons were employed upon the great enlargement at Longleat, and in support of this suggestion it is pointed out that about that time a body of Scots obtained a grant of a piece of land near by, and built a small chapel for the Presbyterian form of worship; but if they were employed they imparted no northern character to their work.

The house which Sir John Thynne thus saw completed before he died in 1580 was preserved and further embellished by his descendants from time to time until Jeffrey Wyatt or Wyatville was employed to modernize it, which he did with much thoroughness so far as the interior was concerned, leaving little of the original house beyond the hall. The external façades on the south and east also retain their original character. The gardens and lay-out which surrounded the house have also undergone vicissitudes. Colin Campbell's plan and Kip's view agree in shewing a very fine treatment of the *entourage*. There were terraces and parterres, avenues, canals, fountains, cascades, a bowling green, a wilderness, and other features in which the early eighteenth century delighted, but which in later years were swept away to comply with the dull requirements of landscape gardening.

If Longleat is interesting as one of the fine examples of the early employment of "regular" architecture in England, and because of the light which the building operations throw on the humble agents who carried the newly-introduced Italian style to all parts of the country, Wilton is no less interesting as the home and the pro-

duction of a singularly gifted family. Of the long line of the Earls of Pembroke there is hardly one who was not a connoisseur of art; and generation after generation has added to the house something either in architecture, in pictures, in sculpture, or in *articles de virtu.* The earliest building work goes back to the same period which saw the transformation of Lacock Abbey and Longleat Priory into dwelling houses, and across the pages which record the beginnings of Wilton flits the shadow of the great Holbein, who is said to have designed part of the earliest structure. A porch attributed to him now serves as a garden house, but it is tradition alone which connects his name with it. Of Elizabethan or Jacobean work very little remains, only the central portion of the east front being in the mullioned style of the early seventeenth century. According to Aubrey this front was rebuilt in 1633 from designs by Solomon de Caux, a man whose name occurs in connection with a few other buildings in England, and who was recommended by Inigo Jones, to whom the work would have been entrusted had he not been too much occupied to undertake it. It is rather curious to find that Inigo Jones's substitute adhered to the old manner, while Jones himself, when the south front was rebuilt some few years later from his designs, completely departed from it and produced a thoroughly Italian façade, from which all traces of the traditional English treatment had disappeared. It would seem that the work was actually carried out by Webb, the nephew and pupil of Jones, but from the drawings of his uncle.

Compared to the lively regularity of Longleat, or the quaint planning of Longford, the severer treatment of Wilton appears a little insipid; but the rooms which occupy the south front are very finely treated. In the old days the eventual appearance of a room "found itself" as it were; a certain approximate size was aimed at, no doubt, but a foot or two more or less was of no account. The embellishments, such as the wood panelling and the

WILTON HOUSE.

fretted ceiling, were designed by different hands and without any precise relation to each other, although the custom of the time involved a general similarity of scale and treatment. But by the middle of the seventeenth century more precise rules were followed, and certain definite proportions were aimed at. In this south front of Wilton one room is a single cube; that is, its length, width and height are equal, and another is a double cube, the length being twice the height and width. Moreover, the whole of the decorations are part of one scheme designed by the same hand—that of the architect, not of the particular artificer who carried out the work. The effect is certainly imposing, and it produces an impression of grandeur rather than of homeliness. Although much of the internal decoration of Wilton has been modernized to keep pace with changing fashions, the double cube room retains its original treatment, and adorned as it is with fine panels framing some of the most splendid portraits of Vandyck, above which rises the modelled and painted ceiling, it is one of the noblest rooms of any house in England.

The gardens at Wilton were once numbered among the finest in the country, but like innumerable others they succumbed to the rage for landscape gardening towards the end of the eighteenth century. From this state of formless design they were partly rescued in 1808 by the laying-out of the Italian garden on the west side, in which were replaced a fountain and some other relics of the ancient splendour, and the central walk was so contrived as to lead to the pavilion, said to have been designed by Holbein. Elsewhere there still linger a few relics of the earlier garden ornaments. But chief among the embellishments of the grounds is the noble Palladian bridge, built from the designs of J. Morris by Earl Henry, referring to whom Walpole says: "The towers, the chambers, the scenes which Holbein, Jones, and Vandyck had decorated, and which Earl Thomas had enriched with

the spoils of the best ages, received the last touches of beauty from Earl Henry's hand."

It may certainly be questioned whether this kind of isolated feature—a monumental covered bridge spanning what is in reality a small stream widened to suit its length—is quite in accordance with the logic which ought to underlie all architecture, or is perfectly in harmony with English landscape; it is well termed by Walpole, though in no spirit of detraction, a "theatric bridge"; but apart from these considerations, it is a fine structure, and full of delightful effects when the light reflected from the water plays on its columns and coffered ceiling. The age which produced it was artificial in its tastes, and often aimed at reproducing at home the romantic effects which its *jeunesse dorée* had admired in Italy.

In these three houses of Longford, Longleat, and Wilton may be read the history of the finest periods of English domestic architecture. In the first we see something of the quaint fancy and romantic ideas which animated the early years of Elizabeth's reign. In the second we get glimpses of the manner in which the great mansions of her distinguished subjects were designed and built; while in the third we witness the triumph of architectural rules over the unfettered fancy of the earlier designers, and the expression in lasting materials of the refined taste and elegant fancies of a cultured line of noblemen.

J. ALFRED GOTCH.

WILTON—PALLADIAN BRIDGE.

PREHISTORIC CIRCLES

SIR RICHARD HOARE, in his fine collection of antiquities, says: "There is nowhere so rich in all kind of antiquarian lore as South Wilts." It must be permitted, however, to cross the borders of the adjacent counties, not to encroach upon their history, but for the purpose of comparison with the antiquities of Wiltshire.

Towards the south of the county is Stonehenge; to the east the greater Avebury, while away to the west (outside our prescribed boundary) lies the ruins of Stanton Drew, probably older than the other two. The great Wansdyke, like the "Limes" connecting the Rhine and the Danube, runs right across Wiltshire, from near the great Aquæ Sulis (or rather Solis) on the west, to Silchester (Calleva) with its elaborately excavated villas, on the east. Further to the south are the Romano-British encampments of Cranborne Chase, so exhaustively treated of by General Pitt-Rivers.

In many countries, under many religions, stones have been adopted as objects of veneration, but in no district, be it respectfully urged, are such groups of *petræ ambrosianæ* (holy stones) so effectively grouped as in or near this district.

Before describing these relics of olden time, it may be well to examine what this splendid triad of ancient circles have in common.

Taking them together as part of a great harmonious whole, we may ask when constructed, how constructed, and of what material, and how the transport of such vast material was effected at that time.

If we take the chronological order of Stanton Drew, Avebury, and Stonehenge, we may, according to the latest approximate guess, place the last as 3,700 years ago. (Mr. Long,[1] however, fixes this date as that of Avebury, which would necessitate a still later date for Stonehenge.) Mr. Gowland, in his *Recent Explorations at Stonehenge*, places its erection at the latter part of the neolithic and the commencement of the bronze age—a date, truly, quite impossible to define with any correctness.

Avebury is considered to be perhaps as old again, while in the case of Stanton Drew we are carried back into the dimmest of ages. The two oldest are supposed by some writers to have been erected in the Serpentine or Dracontian[2] form. Stukeley declared the "mysterie represented by a snake[3] transmitted through a circle" to be a heiragram of the highest antiquity. Stonehenge, most probably intended for sun worship, took the form of a circle.

Stanton Drew and Avebury are constructed in circles connected with each other, and with long avenues as approaches. The megalithic stones are all monoliths of the rudest form, and bear no marks of tool work. The material of Stanton Drew is *dolomite breccia*, probably brought from an adjacent quarry, or from the Mendip Hills, where that form of concrete rock abounds.

The only plan of Stanton Drew as it stands to-day is found in Volume XXXIII. of the Somerset Archæological Society by C. W. Dymond, F.S.A. The circles as

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1 *Abury Illustrated.* Devizes, 1858.

2 Note. Dr. W. Stukeley, in his *Abury Restored*, 1743, is mainly responsible for this theory, based on comparison with other temples, erected in the period of Tree and Serpent Worship, but the modern neo school denies, or cannot see any connection therewith. Dr. Flinders Petrie thinks "the cult of the sun in connexion with the serpent was at Avebury."

At Avebury the double circles resemble the coils of a snake—in those times venerated as an earthly representation of the holy circles, emblems of eternal deity.

3 The gipsies of Granada possess a lamp whose form is that of a snake through a circle; and Chinese and Mexicans use the same form.

AVEBURY.

marked stand in a large meadow in a fertile valley, and it is a matter of wonder how any of the stones remain at all. It is said that each tribe brought a stone, and that the centre of the circle is at a most venerable oak, of huge girth and unknown age. The plan shows a large or solar circle, 350 feet diameter, with twenty-four stones, some upright and some fallen. The lunar circle is 140 feet in diameter, with twelve stones. There is further a group of stones, called in the local legend "the Weddings," following the story, current in so many other localities, that a wedding party having offended the deities (or the Druids) were turned into stone. Similar myths are traceable in the "nine maidens" in Cornwall, the "Derbyshire ladies," and in the petrified cones thrown up at the sulphur springs of Hamman Merhkontin in Algeria. A similar story, relating to the "grey geese of Mucklestane Muir," is related in the *Black Dwarf* of Sir Walter Scott. A curious dolmen or kistvaen, called the cove, stands near the modern church.

Avebury was constructed after the fashion of Stanton Drew, but evidently on a much grander scale. Owing, however, to its situation on a fertile plain, it has been ruthlessly and ruinously dealt with, and its noble proportions well-nigh obliterated. To give an idea of its dilapidation, of the original 650 stones there remained standing in 1663 seventy-two stones, in 1772 twenty-nine, in 1819 nineteen, in 1857 seventeen, and in 1906 thirteen.

The area within the graffe or ditch (which is on the interior side) is 28½ acres, while cross sections from exterior "rampires" measure 1260 to 1170 feet. The form of the great serpent is traceable by those who can accept the theory, and when complete with its splendid avenues must have been imposing indeed. Aubrey said of it that it surpassed Stonehenge as "a Cathedral does a Parish Church."

The monoliths are sarsens, a siliceous sandstone gathered (as most of the stones of Stonehenge) from the

"flock" of "grey wethers"[1] that abound on the neighbouring plains.

"Lucky we are," said a recent traveller, "that we have not to look for Stonehenge in a turnip field." Lucky indeed, when we consider the ruin brought on Avebury and Stanton Drew by the influences of their surroundings. Its bleak and exposed situation on the lonely downs of Salisbury Plain has saved Stonehenge from the pick of the builder, and its soil from the tooth of the steam plough. And there it stands alone, as does Paestum, a mighty lesson to those who can read.

The climax of the great triad, the Choir Gaure (giant dance), is the Mecca of all good antiquarians, and he who has not visited it deserves the rebuke[2] which was administered to

A Wander Wit of Wiltshire, rambling to Rome, to gaze at Antiquities, and there skrewing himself into the company of Antiquaries, they entreated him to illustrate unto them that famous Monument in his Country called STONAGE. His Answer was that he had never seen, scarce even heard of it. Whereupon they kicked him out of doors, and bade him go home and see STONAGE, and I wish all such Æsopicall Cocks as slight these admired Stones, and other of our domestick Monuments (by which they might be admonished to eschew some evil or doe some good) and scrape for barley Cornes of vanity out of forreigne dunghills, might be handled, or rather footed, as he was.

I purpose deliberately to ignore the theory advanced by Webb, setting forth the reasons of Inigo Jones that Stonehenge was a Roman temple, and as "slightingly" as he does dismiss the idea that it was the work of the Danes.

Stonehenge, constructed with evidently increased skill, is composed of (1) sarsen stones set as trilithons (two perpendicular columns, and superincumbent "impost")

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1 These great blocks, like nothing else than a flock of sheep, are the remnants of an old drift, which—whether by glacier means or by simple denudation—have been left on the older formation.

2 From an anonymous note added by Hearne to his edition of *Langtoft's Chronicle*, 1725.

Leaning Stone, as it was—now upright.

Stonehenge—Great Circle.

fastened by mortise and tenon, set in an outer circle, and (2) an inner circle of blue or syenite stone."[1]

To dispose of the various legends as to the locality from whence the materials for these old circles were obtained, Wood, writing in 1747,[2] explains the legend of the stones coming from Ireland as follows:—"Yrelande" is a "holy place in England, not far from Stonehenge"; "Bannagh" was the "sacred" material brought; and Mount Killarus[3] the "sacred place" from which came the Sarsens, is Marlborough Downs.

The question of transport is simply solved. Much as we would like to think of Og-mius,[4] the clever one, persuading the people, by art, not physical force, to draw these stones together, we have but to compare the methods used and depicted in the hieroglyphs of Egypt and Assyria, to learn how huge masses of stones, or statues, were transported from place to place, such as Thebes, Luxor, or Karnac. Rollers and levers, with unlimited human labour, were the motive power to bring the monoliths into their appointed place. A modern print in Gowland's *Stonehenge* shows the same mode of transport as used at the present day in Japan. So it is easy to conceive of our forefathers, perhaps one tribe for each stone, giving all their time and labour for the holy work. Long computed that Stonehenge would require fifty thousand men to bring the requisite blocks. The placing of the imposts of the trilithons—if not done by crane and pulley—was probably carried out by the construction of earthen inclined planes, up which, to the top of the perpendicular blocks, the "imposts" would be rolled, or hauled, until dropped into their places, and secured by mortise and tenon, and perhaps grooves cut in the stones

1 These blocks, it is opined, may have been transported to this district by the southernmost wave of the glacier period.

2 *Choir Gaure, vulgarly called Stonehenge.*

3 There is some affinity with Kehli, a wood; the Caledonian tribes in the North were called people of the coverts.

4 This old Deity is depicted as driving the "peoples" with reins fixed between his mouth and their ears, betokening his power of oratory.

as suggested by Professor Judd. On the completion of the trilithon the earth would be removed.

The earliest printed account of Stonehenge is by one John Rastell,[1] who draws upon the accounts of earlier writers.[2]

Thys Engest when he had obteynde victory dystroyed ye churches of crystendome / he sent for mo saxons to inhabyte the land whych was devydyd in iiii . mo kyngdomys as how & when they began here after shalbe shewyd / yet after this victory of Engest / Aurylambrose & Uter hys brother as Galfridas wrytyth cam into England wyth mych people to whom ye bryttons resortyd and gaue battell to Engest where Engest was slayne but polycronyc̃o & other afferme that Engest kept hys own lād kēt in pease & warr/ & dyed in hys bed & Otta hys son rulyd after hym there xxiiii yere / but all stories afferme that Aurelius besegyd Vortyger in a castell in walys & brent hym & all that was therein / and chasyd the Saxōs frō the 11 provyncys of Estāgles & Essex / but Beda affyrmith that thys Aureli? should be a romayn.

Aurylambrose or Aurelius ambrosius was then crounyd kyng of bryttayn the yere of cryst iiii L . lxxx / he had many cōflyctys with the saxons & sped dyuersly /. In thys tyme one Ella a saxon cam in to the south parte of bryttayne & slew many bryttons & there made hym selfe furst kyng of southe Saxons . s . Southsex the yere of cryst iiii .L. lxxx. & after hym reynyd there his iii sonnys Symen Idlenkengus & Eissa / Also in thys tyme one Uffa began furst to be kyng in Estangles the yere of cryst iiii . L . xc.ii whych people therefore were called Uffyngs.

¶ Thys Aurylābrose dystroyd the panym lawys & reedyfyed churchys of crystendome he was poysonyd at wynchester & was buryed at Stonheng under the grete stonys whych stonys the bryttons say yt one Merlyon which was begotin of a womā by the deuyll brought out of Yrelād [*Ireland*] by the craft of magyk whych dyuers men thynk stondyth nother [*neither*] with good fayth nor reasō & also the bryttons say that thys Marlyon told & wrote meny prophesyes wheron they gretely beleue. But other clerkis and grete lernyd men gvye lyttyl credēce to them / & also they sey that those stonis were neuer brought out of yreland by merlion but yt they were made by craft of men as of semēt [*cement*] & morter made of flynt stonys / one reasō they alege therto because those stonis be so hard that no yryn [*iron*] tole wyll cut them without grete busynes and also they be of one

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1 *The Pastyme of People: the Chronicles of Dyvers Realmys.* One of the scarcest and most curious of the English Chronicles in print. Only four copies are probably in existence; of these one is at the British Museum and another at Longleat.

2 Henry of Huntingdon, *c.* 1130; Geoffrey of Monmouth, *c.* 1140; Giraldus Cambrensis, 1187, are some who mention Stonehenge.

THE STONE AND FLINT IMPLEMENTS DISCOVERED AT STONEHENGE DURING THE EXCAVATIONS IN 1902.

facyon and bygnes saue only there be ii sortis / & so most lykly to be caste and made in a molde & that men thynke it a thyng almoste unpossyble to get so many grete stonys owte of anny quarre or rokk that should be so herd so equall of bygnes & fassyon / a nother reason they ley yt it is not well possyble to haue so many gret stonis to be all of one color & of one greyn thorow and in euery place but that some stone shuld be more darker of colour in one place or a nother or at the lest haue some vaynys of other colours in them as grete stonis of merbell and other gret stonis commynly haue / But these stonis at stonehenge be all of one gryt without chaunge of colour or vayne & all of one facyon therfore many grete wysemen suppose them to be made of a morter of flynt or other stonys.

Utes pendragon broder to Aurelyus was next made kyng of brytteyn the yere of Cryste . v . £ . He louyd one Igwarne or Igorne wyfe to Garloys duke of cornewall & therfore made war uppō hym and slew hym & after maryed the sayde Igwarne & by her had a son callyd Arthur & after this utes was poysonyd.

Too long, indeed, has the quiet work of destruction of this native monument been allowed. The gipsy, the tinker, noisy trippers and tourists, have done all they could to undermine and deface the "holy stones," while under the specious excuse of a public right of way the very councillors of the county wished to assert the liberty of the British Public to enter and ravage at its own sweet will, mistaking liberty for licence. Sir Edmund Antrobus, owner of Amesbury and Stonehenge, has nobly stepped into the breach, set up a protective fence, and is doing what in him lies, with the expert advice and assistance of such men as Mr. Gowland, F.S.A., and Professor Judd, F.R.S., to set up the falling stones.

THE WHITE HORSE AT BRATTON

From Ashdown in Berkshire to Wedmore in Somerset are traces of the Saxon all across Wilts. From 871 A.D. to the final victory, the battle of Ethandun, and the peace of Wedmore (A.D. 878), we may follow the great Alfred rescuing his kingdom from the incursions of the Danes.

These exploits are supposed to be commemorated by

the formation by his followers of huge figures of White Horses, cut out of the turf on the slopes of the downs, thereby revealing the glistening chalk below. Near Westbury, under the camp of Bratton, from time immemorial, a white horse has stood, which, according to popular tradition, was cut to commemorate the battle fought at Ethandun. That this was no other than the village of Edington, which at that period may have extended to the foot of the hill on which the white horse is cut, is the opinion of the celebrated antiquary Camden, who is strenuously supported in this by the researches of Sir R. C. Hoare, Gough, Gibson, and others. From the brevity of the old chronicles, however, the distance now of the thousand years since the event, and the changes which the country has undergone, it would be foolish to lay down with absolute certainty the scene of Alfred's victory. Re-modelled at the end of the eighteenth century, the horse had looked down on nearly three generations unaltered, when in the year 1873, censures on its condition having become rife, a Committee, comprising most of the principal inhabitants of the place, undertook its restoration. Under their auspices, at a cost of between £60 and £70, the figure of the horse was rectified, its surface cleansed and made good, and its outline protected from future displacement by an edging of stone deeply set in the earth.[1]

Within the borders of Wilts. there are also such figures at Cherhill (near Calne), at Alton, Marlborough,[2] and Preshute. The modern critic would fain remind us that most of these "Horses" were constructed, or reconstructed, in quite recent times. This is perfectly agreed, and the "scouring" (or rejuvenating) of the White

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1 The *History of Westbury White Horse.*

2 The *Cherhill* White Horse was cut in 1780 by Dr. Allsop. Of the *Bratton* or Westbury White Horse, supposed to be in commemoration of Alfred's victory at Edington, there was a drawing by Gough in 1772, and in 1778 a man named Gee "new modelled the figure." The *Preshute* or Marlborough White Horse was cut by some scholars of a Mr. Greasley. That of Alton was cut about 1812 by a Mr. Pile.

Raising the Leaning Stone

Horse at Ashdown (of which the figure is known to have existed in 1100, and is referred to in a charter of Henry I.) is well told by Hughes. But as Mr. Wise remarks, it is worthy of consideration whether the authors of these modern white "Horses" had not preserved the tradition of some older horses now obliterated, or of some older festival now forgot.

The shape of these figures differs considerably. That at Ashdown more resembles a greyhound galloping; of Cherhill a horse trotting; while at Bratton it is a nag of stout dimensions; it is said that the older horse there faced the other way.

In connection with Bratton, near the white horse, occupying a goodly slice of the hillside, is an entrenchment cut and built with turf in the shape of a fish or dolphin. A zareba-like fence has been planted on the top of this fell dyke, and serves to accentuate the shape, which, however, is unmistakable. Some antiquaries consider this a British symbol, but it appears more probable that it would belong to the more sea-going Saxons. The myth of the white horse is of great antiquity, and universal in its history. The figure of a great white horse[1] representing the sun was much in vogue, and indeed may have been connected with the worship at Stonehenge. It is recognized in Japan and in various heathen tribes at the present day.

ALEX. MUIR MACKENZIE.

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1 White horses have been the badges or symbols of certain nations:—

Cyrus and Xerxes had sacred horses.

Tacitus notes the same about the Germans.

Grimm says the worship of the horse was common to the Celtic, Teuton, and Slavonic tribes.

The White Horse at Ashdown may have (*pace* Mr. Hughes) been cut there before the reputed battle of Alfred in 871.

In Wiltshire proper the White Horses are of later dates, and according to Mr. Thoms were in commemoration of and as memorials of the conversion to Christianity of the Saxons in form of White Horses preserved in sacred Ash groves.—Plenderleath. *Wilts. Arch. Mag.*, vol. xiv., 1872.

LACOCK ABBEY

ABOUT four miles south of Chippenham, among the green meadows, dominated on the other side of the Avon by that long ridge of ancient forest-land which was formerly known as Chippenham and Melksham Forests, lies the Abbey of Lacock, described by the Commissioners of Henry VIII. at the time of the Suppression as "a hedde house of nunnes of St. Augusteyne's rule, of great and large buildings set in a towne, to the same and all other adjoynynge by common reaporte a great releef." The "towne" is the village of Lacock, which, to as great an extent as any perhaps in England, retains its air of old-world picturesqueness, the main street being of great width, and many of the houses dating from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, some even from the fourteenth.

The Manor of Lacock, at the time of Domesday Book, formed part of the wide possessions held by Edward of Salisbury, Sheriff of Wilts, and from him passed by inheritance to William, Earl of Salisbury, who married Alianora de Vitré, of a noble house of Brittany, and died in 1196, leaving an only child, Ela, then an infant, the sole heiress of his title and lands. There is a romantic story told in the *Book of Lacock*, a compilation apparently made here about the middle of the fourteenth century, of her concealment in Normandy with her mother's relations, and her rescue (or abduction) thence by William Talebot, in the guise of a troubadour; but the whole account has an air of unreality, and is otherwise unsupported. What is certain, is that the young Countess of Salisbury was

given by King Richard I. as his ward in marriage to William Longespee, natural son of Henry II. and Fair Rosamond, in 1198. She brought the earldom in dower to her husband, who thenceforth is styled Earl of Salisbury in right of his wife. He died in 1226, leaving Ela a widow with eight children; but neither her eldest son William nor her grandson—again a William—succeeded to the Earldom, which lay dormant after Ela's retirement into religion till 1337, when it was revived by a new creation in the family of Montacute.

The foundation of a house of religion had long been a project of the Countess Ela. Here, at Lacock, in obedience, it is said, to a divine vision, she chose the site of the new nunnery in a meadow then called "Snayles-mede"; here, on April 16th, 1232, she laid the foundation stone, later in the same day founding the Carthusian monastery of Hinton Charterhouse; and here, on Christmas Day, 1238, she took the habit of an Austin Canoness, being elected August 15th, 1239, first Abbess of the house, and resigning that position December 31st, 1256. She died August 24th, 1261, at the age of more than seventy years, and was honourably buried before the high altar of her abbey church.

The property with which the house was first endowed consisted only of the Manor of Lacock, and of that of Woodmancote, co. Gloucester, the gift of Constance de Legh. Soon, however, other possessions were added. About 1232 or 1233 the foundress gave Hatherop, also in Gloucestershire, to Lacock, and this was followed in 1236 by a much ampler endowment. The manors of Bishopstrow the moiety of that at Heddington, and the advowson of Shrewton, supplemented her original gift; while in 1248 William Longespee, her eldest son, gives to the abbess and nuns the large manor of Chitterne, and some time during the early part of the reign of Edward I. Amicia, Countess of Devon and Lady of the Isle of Wight, gave them the manor of North Shorewell in that island. These

estates, with that of Wiclescote and Mackingdon, given respectively by Catherine Luvel, about 1270, and Isabella Pipard, in 1291, complete the chief part of the endowment of the house, which possessed an income at the Taxation of Pope Nicholas in 1291 of £101 12s. 4d.; and in 1535, at the time of Henry VIII.'s *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, of £203 gross and £168 nett.

Of the subsequent Abbesses and the internal or external history of the house there is little that can be said. The family of Montfort furnish three Abbesses, Johanna, Matilda, and Elena, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In the reign of the last of these in 1426, Elianor, daughter of John Montfort, probably a relation of the Abbess, was abducted from Lacock by Geoffrey Rokell, but whether the lady was a nun or not does not appear: it is at least as likely that she was there for purposes of education, and that the so-called "abduction" was merely a design for compassing a marriage about which there might have been some legal difficulty.

This mention of education of girls leads us to consider a question which has often been asked, but never quite satisfactorily answered: What was the daily occupation of religious women—for instance, these Austin Canonesses here at Lacock? To begin with, we must remember the large proportion of each day spent in the Church and in what we may call routine work of various kinds. Rising at midnight, they passed to the Church for Mattins and Lauds, afterwards returning to bed till towards seven, when they were once more roused, this time finally, for the office of Prime. This concluded, there followed the Chapter Mass, so called because it immediately preceded the daily assembly of the Convent in the Chapter-house to deliberate on matters affecting the house, to administer discipline, and to execute such instruments as required the common seal to be affixed. After this there was a short interval for recreation and reading, talking being permitted, until the bell rang once more for Sext, about noon.

LACOCK ABBEY.

Sext was followed by dinner, and dinner by an interval of work until Nones at three. Vespers was said at six, Compline at nine, the collation or supper being served before the latter; and by 9.30 the canonesses would have retired to rest, till summoned at midnight to the round of another day. It will, then, be seen that there was not a great deal of time unoccupied by church services and the like; but it seems reasonable to suppose that the afternoon, devoted by monks to manual labour, was spent by the ladies of Lacock in such tasks as were suitable to their sex and position; perhaps in gardening, especially the cultivation of simples, or the preparation of the medicines of that day; possibly in the composition of confectionery, still a leading product of the nunneries of Spain; in needlework, in which art English ladies so excelled that specimens of their work, presented to Popes, are still preserved among the most treasured possessions of foreign museums; and certainly in the education of the young girls of the neighbourhood, of what we should call the upper and middle classes. Chaucer tells us of the miller's wife that "she was i-fostred in a nonnerye"; and Aubrey says in his *Collections*—

> There [at Kington St. Michael, not far from Lacock] the young maids were brought up (not at Hakney, Sarum Schools, etc., to learn pride and wantonness, but) at the nunneries, where they had examples of piety, and humility, and modesty, and obedience to imitate and to practise. Here they learned needlework, the art of confectionery, surgery (for anciently there were no apothecaries or surgeons, the gentlewomen did cure their poor neighbours: their hands are now too fine), physic, writing, drawing, etc. Old Jacques could see from his house the Nunnes of the Priory come forth into the Nymph-hay, with their Rocks and Wheeles to spin, and with their sewing work. He would say that he hath told three-score and ten; but of Nunnes not so many, but in all with Lay Sisters, as widowes, old maydes, and young girls, there might be such a number. This was a fine way of breeding up young women, who are led more by example than precept; and a good retirement for widowes and grave single women to a civill, virtuous, and holy life.

Lacock, as a religious house of under £200 annual income, came within the scope of the Suppression Act of

1536, but was one of those specially exempted, and allowed to continue, on payment, in this case, of a fine of £300! This can only be described as a penalty for being found blameless; for the letters of the King's Visitors, who assuredly could not be considered favourable witnesses, display a remarkable unanimity in declaring that at Lacock no irregularities are to be found. John ap Rice, one of these visitors, writes thus:—

> So it is that we found no notable comperts [faults to report on] at Lacock; the house is very clean, well repaired, and well ordered. And one thing I observed, worthy the advertisement [worthy of notice], there. The ladies have their rule, the institutes of their religion, and ceremonies of the same, written in the French tongue, which they understand well, and are very perfect in the same, albeit that it varieth from the vulgar French that is now used, and is much like the French that the Common Law is written in.

Despite this, however, the Abbey had to surrender in January, 1539; and the site and buildings, with some other property, were granted to William Sharington, one of the gentlemen of the court of Henry VIII., for the sum of £783 odd. He pulled down the church and infirmary, but, fortunately for us, converted the greater part of the buildings into a residence for himself. We thus find preserved to us three walls of the cloister of fifteenth century work (the fourth having been apparently of wood), and opening from the east side of this, the Sacristy, Chapter-house, Slype, and Day-room of the nuns; on the north are the vault under the Refectory and the passage to the Day-room; and on the west three vaulted chambers which may have been a guest-hall, the "outer parlour," and the Chaplain's Day-room; all these are of thirteenth century work. The walls and roof of the Dormitory, over the Chapter-house range, and those of the Refectory on the north side of the cloister, are from a hundred and fifty to two hundred years later, and a good deal obscured by later alterations; but the mediæval parts of the house remain an almost unique

instance of the preservation of the domestic buildings of a nunnery.

The foundations of the destroyed Abbey Church were traced in 1898, and shewed that it was a long aisleless building, 148 feet long by 28 feet wide. From the eastern portion of the south side projected a Lady Chapel, 59 feet long by 25 feet wide, which we know to have been built in the early part of the fourteenth century, and to have contained the tomb of Sir John Bluet, lord of the manor of Lackham and co-patron of the Parish Church of Lacock, whose share in the advowson the nuns acquired at this time. The contract for the building of this chapel, written in French, is still in existence at Lacock, and gives most interesting details of the dimensions, character, and progress of the work; it also specifies that the tomb of Sir John Bluet is to have four candles burning in the four corners thereof while Mass is being said. The foundress' tomb, we learn from an entry in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, had twenty-five candles burning about it.

Sharington, however, did not merely retain: he also added work of his own. Notable among these additions is an elegant octagon tower at the south-east angle of the house, the middle stage of which was designed for a muniment room, while the upper floor was intended as a sort of summer-house, where gentlemen would drink their wine, and (after Queen Elizabeth's time) "drink tobacco" as well. Sharington also built two sides of the stable courtyard, which remain to a large extent unaltered. The work in these additions and in the numerous minor alterations made at this time in the house, shows extraordinary refinement and delicacy in its details, and tends to make us believe that the designer of these alterations and additions was, if not himself an Italian, well acquainted with the best work of the Italian Renaissance.

We are also able to date the work within narrow limits, for it must be later than Sharington's purchase of the house in July, 1540, and earlier than January, 1549, for

in this latter year Sharington was arrested on the charge of complicity in the treasonable designs of Lord Seymour of Sudeley, Lord High Admiral of England, and confined in the Tower, where he remained till the year following. He was then tried, convicted, and sentenced to death, but on making a full confession was pardoned and restored in blood in February, 1550, and allowed to buy back his estates for a large sum of money. He did not long survive his release, dying in July, 1553, and during this short time would not, we may imagine, be in a position to carry out any extensive building works, though we know that he had a stone carver named John Chapman at work within a few weeks of his death. Thus the bulk of the Renaissance work at Lacock must fall between 1540-1549, and probably rather towards the end than the beginning of this period.

Sir William Sharington, though thrice married, left no children, and was succeeded by his brother Henry, in whose time Queen Elizabeth visited Lacock, and knighted her host, in the year 1574. Sir Henry left three daughters, co-heiresses, of whom the eldest, Ursula, married Thomas, eldest son of Sir Ralph Sadleir, of Standon, in Hertfordshire, and died without issue; Grace, the second daughter, married Sir Anthony Mildmay, of Apthorpe, in Northamptonshire, and was ancestress of the present Earl of Westmorland; and the third daughter, Olive, was twice married: first to John Talbot, of Salwarpe, in Worcestershire, and secondly to Sir Robert Stapylton, of Wighill, in Yorkshire. From the issue of Olive's first marriage the Talbots of Lacock are descended.

The house remained substantially as Sharington left it throughout the seventeenth and part of the eighteenth century. During the Civil War it was held for the King, and was surrendered to the Parliamentary forces in September, 1645, shortly after Cromwell's capture of Devizes, and apparently as a result of that success. A representation of the appearance of the house about this

Lacock Abbey—Interior View of West End of Chapter House.

time is to be found in Dingley's *History from Marble*, entitled the "South-West Prospect of the Abby of Laycock," in April, 1684, and shows a most picturesque group of buildings on the site of the present hall and dining-room, apparently of late mediæval date, with later alterations. The greater part of the upper range on this side, however, was removed about the year 1750, by John Ivory Talbot, then owner, who erected a large pseudo-Gothic Hall, adorned with terra-cotta statuettes in niches, and armorial bearings of the principal families of the county. This is interesting, not from its beauty, but from its early date as a precursor of the "Gothic Revival." Ivory Talbot also made adjoining this a large Palladian dining-room, thus affording an example of the contemporaneous adoption of two utterly dissimilar styles, one in a room designed for use, the other in one designed for display! It is known that Ivory Talbot got the design for this Gothic Hall from his friend, Mr. Miller, of Radway, in Warwickshire.

He also carried out a great many minor alterations in the house, the most notable, perhaps, being the cutting out of the eastern walls of the Sacristy, Chapter-house, Slype, and Day-room, leaving a series of gaping arches in place of the former windows. These walls have now been replaced, with windows in them, and the doors of communication with the cloister re-opened, thus making it possible to gain a clearer conception of what this part of the abbey looked like before the Dissolution.

The next important alterations were made from 1828 to 1832, when the oriel windows on the south wall of the house were thrown out. These have certainly improved the general effect, but have to a large extent obliterated the indications, which were clearly to be seen, and can still in part be traced, of the vaulting shafts and wall-ribs of the destroyed Abbey Church. This was done by the late W. H. Fox Talbot, who added another to the many interesting historical associations of the house by his

pioneer experiments in photography. This is not the place to enter into a discussion of the vexed question to whom the credit of the invention of photography is due; it is enough to say that Fox Talbot was one of the inventors thereof, and that there is still extant at Lacock a photograph of one of the windows of the South Gallery, still clearly recognisable, taken in 1835, so that the house may make good the claim made for it by Fox Talbot of being the first that ever drew its own picture! Several of the processes invented by him are still in commercial use, notably in the matter of photo-engraving.

He also had a distinguished record as a mathematician and Orientalist, being one of the earliest group of investigators of the cuneiform inscriptions discovered by Layard on the site of Nineveh. The chancel of Lacock Church has recently been remodelled as a memorial to him.

Since 1832 there has been very little structural alteration to the house, except works of restoration, and the whole now remains a most interesting combination of the architecture of widely different periods of English history. We have thirteenth century Gothic in the buildings surrounding the cloister; Perpendicular in the cloister itself; Early Renaissance in the work of Sir William Sharington; Palladian in Ivory Talbot's dining-room; while in the hall and in the 1828 to 1832 alterations we have specimens of the first beginning and of the later development of the Gothic revival, which, in a changed phase, is with us still.

W. G. CLARK-MAXWELL.

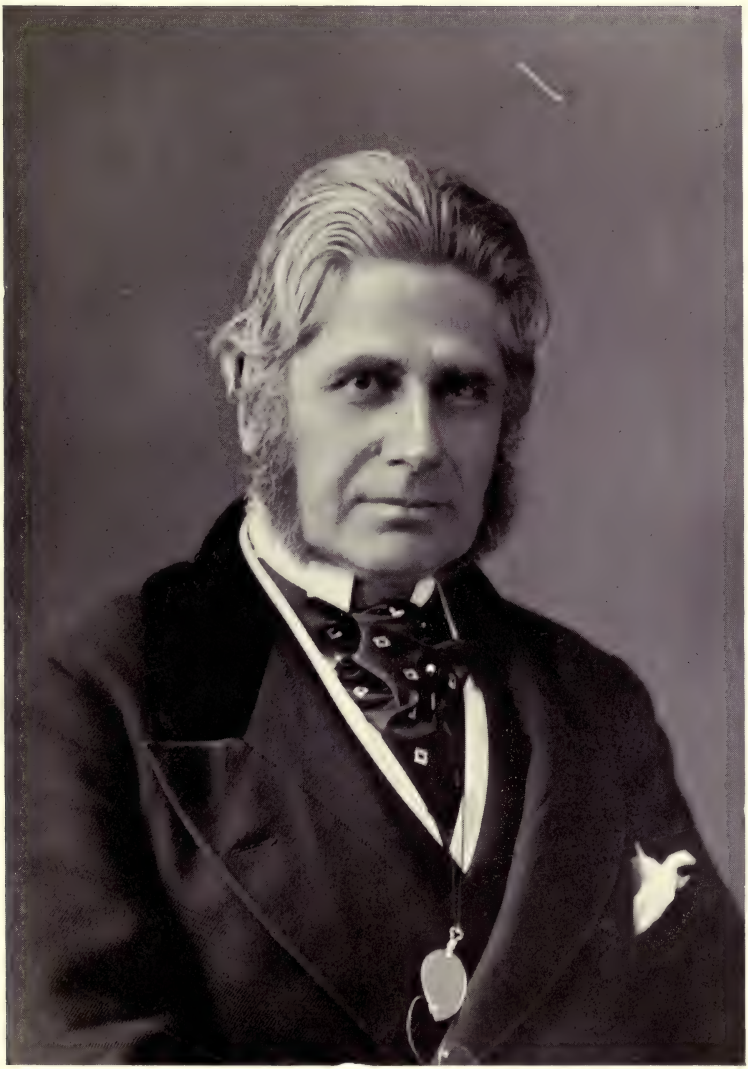
LIEUT.-GENERAL PITT-RIVERS, D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A.

A SHORT life of this famous field archæologist and ethnologist, in a book relating exclusively to Wiltshire, would not be complete without a few introductory remarks on the county's great antiquaries and topographers of bygone days. We refer to John Aubrey, John Britton, and Sir Richard C. Hoare. If they were not as systematic in their methods as General Pitt-Rivers—and it could hardly be expected, considering the period in which they lived—they were famous lovers of relics of antiquity, and formed a literary foundation for the building up of a branch of scientific knowledge which is probably only in its infancy at present. It is a poor archæological library that does not contain *The Topographical Collections of John Aubrey, F.R.S.*, 1659-70, enlarged by the Rev. J. E. Jackson, F.S.A., and published by the Wiltshire Archæological Society in 1862. Aubrey was born at Easton Pierse (or Percy), in the parish of Kington St. Michael, in Wilts., on March 12th, 1625-6. In 1649 he brought the megalithic remains of Avebury—a monument which had been unheeded until then—to the notice of the scientific world. It is impossible to enumerate all his works in these pages, but it may fairly be said of Aubrey that although he was a great collector of notes, anecdotes, and traditions, he collected rather indiscriminately, and lacked the faculty of reducing his abundant material into proper literary order. However, he has by his industry preserved a great many facts and memoranda which otherwise would never have been

recorded. He died in 1697, ten years after the birth of William Stukeley. The latter, another renowned antiquary in his day, although not belonging to the county under consideration, will ever be remembered by Wiltshire and other scientists as the author of (i.) *Stonehenge, a Temple restor'd to the British Druids*, London, 1740, folio; and (ii.) *Abury, a Temple of the British Druids*, London, 1743, folio.

The work of John Britton covers a later period again. He was born in the same parish as Aubrey, at Kington, on July 7th, 1771, dying in London on New Year's Day, 1857. His vol. xv. of *The Beauties of England*, that relating to Wiltshire (1814), is well known. In the same year his *History of Salisbury Cathedral* was published. In 1850 *The Autobiography of John Britton* appeared; five years previously, Britton wrote his *Memoir of Aubrey*, and in 1843 edited all that is valuable in Aubrey's *Natural History of Wiltshire*. Britton was one of the most continuously productive writers and editors of his time, and was instrumental in founding the Wiltshire Archæological Society.

Sir Richard Colt Hoare, Bart., the historian of Wiltshire, flourished at a date rather earlier than Britton, as he was born on December 9th, 1758, and died at the picturesque demesne of Stourhead on May 19th, 1838. He devoted himself with extraordinary zeal to the illustration of the history and antiquities of his own county, and produced *The Ancient History of North and South Wiltshire*, 1812-21 (in two folio volumes, illustrated by ninety-seven plates). His *History of Modern Wiltshire* was left unfinished at the time of his death; but it now consists of fourteen parts, usually bound in six volumes, 1822-44. With the assistance of William Cunnington (1754-1810), Hoare excavated an enormous number of ancient sites, chiefly barrows, the latter, I believe, numbering three hundred and seventy-nine! It is doubtful whether he excavated one properly; like Thomas Bateman, in



LIEUT.-GENERAL PITT-RIVERS.

Derbyshire, he merely *dug holes* in barrows to procure the chief relics at the greatest possible speed, and to fill his cabinets at Stourhead with many rarities.[1] The archæological information and deductions which Hoare gained could, therefore, only have been of a general nature, more or less the result of accident. To General Pitt-Rivers, on the other hand, the rarity of the relics was of secondary importance; he was never disappointed in finding common objects as long as they yielded reliable evidence of date and of the condition and culture of the races who used them. He excavated several sites—notably, camps—which Hoare would have considered unworthy of notice, producing as they do little or nothing of rare character or monetary value. In his excavations he considered what archæological and historical evidence he had obtained from each day's work, having every discovery put on record without delay and trusting nothing to memory. The General, of course, had the advantage over Hoare in the great recent advance made in archæology and the kindred sciences.

The name of Lieutenant-General Pitt-Rivers, who died at Rushmore, his country seat (in the extreme south of Wiltshire, close to the Dorset boundary), on May 4th, 1900, at the age of seventy-three, is one well-known to every archæologist and ethnologist, and, indeed, to most men of science. No man has attained more celebrity for accuracy, brilliance, and originality in archæological and ethnological research than General Pitt-Rivers. No similar achievements in archæological field-work have surpassed those of the General in the British Isles. His work at Rushmore was carried out under the most favourable circumstances: firstly, being the owner of twenty-nine thousand acres of land, he had ample means for his loved pursuits; secondly, he, by the happiest of

[1] The collections are now in Devizes Museum.

coincidences, inherited an estate which was teeming with earthworks of all ages, awaiting the spade of the systematic explorer; and thirdly, he was fortunate in securing assistants who readily adapted themselves to the work and became devoted to it.

Augustus Henry Lane-Fox was born on April 14th, 1827, and was the eldest surviving son of William Augustus Lane-Fox, of Hope Hall, Yorkshire, and his wife, Lady Caroline, daughter of John Douglas, eighteenth Earl of Morton. In accordance with the will of his great-uncle, George Pitt, second Baron Rivers (1751-1828), and by descent from his grandmother, who was sister of the second and daughter of the first Lord, he eventually inherited the Rushmore estates, in succession to Horace, sixth Lord Rivers, in 1880, when he assumed the name of Pitt-Rivers by royal licence, his sons, however, being styled Fox-Pitt. It was by a strange series of events that this distinguished anthropologist succeeded to the Cranborne Chase property—a tract of land so rich in prehistoric remains.

Lane-Fox was educated at Sandhurst Military College, and received a commission in the Grenadier Guards in 1845. He became Lieutenant-General in 1882, in which year he retired from regular duty. He remained, however, on the active list till 1896; and from 1893 until his death he filled the appointment of Hon. Colonel of the South Lancashire Regiment. He served with distinction in the Crimean War as D.A.Q.M.G., and was on the staff at the Battle of the Alma and the Siege of Sebastopol, being mentioned in despatches.

When employed in investigations for the improvement of the rifle-musket of the British Army at Woolwich, Hythe, Enfield, and Malta, 1851-7, he soon proved a master in experimental research, and he has always been regarded as the chief originator of the Hythe School of Musketry. It was at this period that he was led to take notice of the very slight changes of system that were

embodied in the different inventions, and also of the fact that many improvements which, not being of a nature to be adopted, fell out of use and were heard of no more, nevertheless served as suggestions for further developments which *were* adopted. So it occurred to him that interesting series could be made of these successive stages of improvement in weapons generally, and, later, in various other arts; and in order that he might follow out this original line of thought, he collected many interesting series with methodical care, until his London house became nearly transformed into a museum.

In the year that Lane-Fox became Colonel (1867) he read the first of his famous lectures on "Primitive Warfare" before the United Service Institution, parts two and three being given in 1868-9. Then followed his well-known contributions on the discovery of flint implements of Palæolithic type in the Thames Valley, and his paper on "The Principles of Classification, as adopted in the arrangement of his Anthropological Collection."

After a score of years the Colonel's collections had increased so largely that they came to be exhibited at Bethnal Green Museum, and subsequently at South Kensington up till 1885. At this time the General offered the whole to the Government, but as his generous offer could not be accepted, he presented the collection to the University of Oxford, a gallery costing £10,000 being built for its reception. Under the charge of Mr. Henry Balfour, it has now developed into one of the finest ethnographical collections in the world, and probably the foremost for educational purposes. For those specially interested in this branch of the General's scientific career I would refer them to Mr. H. Balfour's presidential address to the Anthropological Section of the British Association at Cambridge in 1904, in which he has explained, in an exhaustive and masterly manner, the system of classification adopted by the General in arranging and developing his ethnographical collection, the methods

he introduced in grouping his material according to form and function in order that he might throw light upon the question of the monogenesis or polygenesis of certain arts and appliances, and the manner in which he stimulated research in some of the branches of the comprehensive science of Anthropology.

Having dwelt at some length on the anthropological and ethnological sides of Pitt-Rivers's career, we must recollect that his name has equal claims to be handed down to posterity as an archæologist. In this field of labour, also, his shrewdness, ingenuity, practicalness, and versatility were clearly revealed. His experience as an excavator extended over thirty years, and whilst the greater part of his ethnological work was achieved under his earlier surname of Lane-Fox, his more important archæological excavations were conducted after 1880, when he had assumed the name of Pitt-Rivers.

The General never commenced an exploration which he did not complete as thoroughly as possible. Take one instance—that of the South Lodge Camp in Rushmore Park, excavated in 1893. In the first three sections dug through the ditch and rampart, each ten feet wide, nothing worthy of mention was found. Although disappointed, he did not allow his archæological enthusiasm to be quelled: he stated that he would have the whole rampart, ditch, and interior space excavated, and this was actually done with the usual attention to details. What was the result? Relics more than sufficient were discovered to enable him to prove upon unassailable evidence that the camp was of Bronze Age construction, and was subsequently overrun by the Romanized Britons.

Here, then, is an argument for thorough excavation or none at all. All antiquaries, however, are not blessed with the time and money Pitt-Rivers had at his disposal, and if such an argument developed into law, our records of excavations at the present day would be few.

Archæologists never rest contented unless they are

able to improve on the methods of their predecessors, and they now begin to see the increased value of results obtained by minute and laborious work, as compared with the less exact methods of the older antiquaries. It will, however, probably be some years before we shall see any considerable development in archæological excavating, as Pitt-Rivers, the prince of excavators at the close of the last century, was undoubtedly several years in advance of his time.

As Colonel Lane-Fox, he conducted many archæological excavations in various parts of England and Ireland, both on his own account and in conjunction with other antiquaries. His first notable excavations were carried out in 1868 at the forts of Cissbury and Highdown. In 1884 he was the first to discover chert implements in the stratified gravels in the Nile Valley at Koorneh, near Thebes. Sir W. Dawson attempted to asperse the discovery, but Pitt-Rivers foresaw something of the sort, and had secured a competent witness on the spot.

The General had turned much attention in his earlier days, as well as after 1892, to the exploration of camps and inhabited enclosures. All manner of dates of construction have been given to camps generally, and it is not surprising, as there is little in the principles of military defence to distinguish the camps of one people in a primitive condition of life from those of another. In Sussex he systematically excavated the following camps: Cissbury, Highdown, Seaford, Mount Caburn, Ranscombe, and Cæsar's Camp. The latter was always considered to be pre-Roman before Lane-Fox excavated it and proved it to be of Norman construction. In addition, he made noteworthy excavations at the Dorchester Dykes (Oxon); Ambresbury Banks, Epping Forest; Dane's Dyke, Flamborough; two cairns near Bangor; Black Burgh Tumulus, near Brighton; British tumuli near Guildford, etc. The Dane's Dyke, naturally enough, was previously regarded as a Danish work, but

it was proved by a section cut through the vallum to be much earlier. The Colonel's investigations extended even to Denmark, where he explored the *Danne-werk* at Korborg, near Schleswig.

In 1877, in company with Professor Rolleston, he made an examination of three round barrows and the camp of Sigwell Compton, Somerset. In 1883, General Pitt-Rivers undertook, on behalf of the Government, some puzzling explorations at the Pen Pits in South-East Somerset, on which he wrote a report to the First Commissioner of Works. He fully confirmed the conclusions previously arrived at by an excavation committee of the Somersetshire Archæological Society, that the pits could not have been formed for habitations, but merely for quarrying purposes. Previously, they were regarded as marking the site of a great early British metropolis.

Very soon after the General's accession to the Rushmore estates, and before he became acquainted with one half of his property, his archæological enthusiasm had to find vent, and in 1880 he commenced barrow-digging in Rushmore Park—a park of four hundred acres—under the by no means encouraging anticipations of some of the old employees on the estate, who had no hesitation in stating that there were plenty of "such like" to be found, all of which had been made out of road-scrapings and other rubbish during their own lifetime! The old "hands" soon, however, became convinced of their erroneous suppositions, as the General proceeded to excavate, with unabated energy, the most striking camps, villages, ditches, cemeteries, and barrows within easy reach of Rushmore, ranging in date from Neolithic to Saxon times. As much work in the field was carried out during the first few years, it was found that the time had arrived when pick and shovel had to be temporarily dropped, to be substituted by pen, pencil, and printer's ink; consequently, the base of operations was transferred from the open air to the offices and studios of the General and his

assistants, where relics were studied and compared, plates, plans, and sections were delineated, manuscript was written; so that 1887 brought to the light of the scientific world the first volume of *Excavations in Cranborne Chase*, which was closely followed by volume ii. in 1888.

Volume i. of his *magnum opus* treats chiefly of the Romano-British village of Woodcuts. The excavations here threw much light upon the condition, mode of life, and physical peculiarities of the Romanized Britons in their rural habitations, that is, outside of the large fortified Roman cities. Amongst other things discovered were ninety-five pits, a couple of wells, inhabited "quarters" of the village, drains, hypocausts, human remains, objects of utility and personal ornament, much pottery, uninscribed British coins, and Roman coins extending from Caligula to Magnentius, A.D. 37 to 353. Woodcuts was inhabited by a remarkably small race, the characteristics and peculiarities of which, together with the form of the skulls, the modes of burial, and the positions of the interments, were recorded in the greatest possible detail. The excavation of the wells was extremely interesting, as it proved that the water-line must have lain somewhat higher in former days than is the case at present. The excavations—also of the Roman period—at Park House, Rushmore, are recorded in this volume.

It was just about this time that General Pitt-Rivers delivered his inaugural address to the Royal Archæological Institute at Salisbury—a famous summary of the advancement made in archæology and in our knowledge of early man. His concluding remarks gave rise to warm discussion and to pulpit references on the following Sunday in Salisbury Cathedral, one by Bishop Wordsworth, the other by Canon Creighton, subsequently Bishop of London. The following, dealing with the subject of the very low type of skull of early man, was the sentence which aroused controversy: "Nor are our relations with the Supreme Power presented to us in an unfavourable light

by this discovery, for if man was originally created in the image of God, it is obvious that the very best of us have greatly degenerated."

Vol. ii. of *Excavations* is largely devoted to explorations similar to Woodcuts in the neighbouring ancient village of Rotherley. This was another settlement of Romano-Britons, surrounded by downland and the forest scenery which the Romans must have seen in Britain. The tablet of Kimmeridge shale, the design of which is represented on the covers of his larger works, was found here. Sixteen human skeletons were brought to light, some of the bones bearing distinct evidence of rheumatoid-arthritis. It would appear that Rotherley had been previously overrun by prehistoric folk, an Early Bronze Age crouched skeleton with a thin earthenware drinking vessel at the feet being discovered below the Roman deposits.

It is in volume ii. that the General places on record the excavations, from 1880 to 1884, of twenty-two barrows in Rushmore Park and the woods adjoining. The smallest barrow produced a remarkably perfect interment of the Early Bronze Age with a beaker at the feet. The last chapters of this volume deal with an interesting archæological area of 12½ acres, 850 feet above sea-level, and a mile north of Rushmore, occupied by Winkelbury Camp and Cemetery. In addition to the camp, six British barrows were examined and no less than thirty-one Anglo-Saxon graves.

An almost new branch of inquiry was added to volume ii. by the careful measurement of all the bones of domesticated animals found in the Romano-British villages; many animals were killed by the General's orders, after external measurements had been taken for comparison as *test* animals, and by this means the height of all the animals whose bones were found in the villages and elsewhere was ascertained.

Immediately after the publication of volume ii., the pick and shovel were again brought into requisition, this

time at Woodyates and Bokerly Dyke, 1888-1890, followed by excavations into the Wansdyke in North Wilts in 1890-1. These localities afforded the chief material for volume iii.—the largest of the series—which was published in 1892.

General Pitt-Rivers proved, upon unassailable evidence, by means of five sections cut across the ditch and rampart of Bokerly Dyke at Woodyates, and by two sections cut across the ditch and rampart of the Wansdyke, that both these earthworks were of Roman or post-Roman origin, and thus completely upsetting the Belgic and pre-Roman theories of Dr. Guest, Stukeley, and others. It can never be asserted again that either of these dykes, at the points where the General excavated them, are pre-Roman, or that the Bokerly Dyke was erected previously to the time of Honorius, A.D. 395-423, that is to say, previously to the time when the Roman legions evacuated Britain.

A Romano-British settlement (? Vindogladia) was also found to exist at Woodyates close to the Dyke, and in it abundant traces of Roman occupation were unearthed. The Woodyates settlement proved to be an important one, situated as it is on the line of the Roman road from Sorbiodunum to Badbury. No less than 1,210 Roman coins, including barbarous imitations of ordinary types, were discovered here, and the examination of the human skeletons brought to light important racial and comparative characteristics.

Volume iii. also includes an invaluable archæological map of Wilts, Dorset, Somerset, and part of Hants, compiled from acknowledged authorities.

Simultaneously with the preparation of volume iii., a smaller work, entitled *King John's House, Tollard Royal*, was produced; which although published in 1890 as a separate volume for those more particularly interested in mediæval architecture and antiquities, strictly speaking, deals with excavations in Cranborne Chase. This house

was formerly occupied as a farmhouse, but when it fell vacant in 1889, Pitt-Rivers resolved to endeavour to confirm the tradition of its great antiquity, and not only to remove additions made by Lord Rivers some sixty years ago, but also to make excavations round about the house. All the chief "finds" discovered are figured in the book, as well as all the most interesting architectural features. Up to the spring of 1905 the house was opened for the inspection of visitors, but is now occupied as a private dwelling. It was furnished by the General with antique furniture, the walls being covered with a series of small and for the most part original pictures, illustrating the history of painting from the earliest times, commencing with Egyptian paintings of mummy heads, and coming down, through the Italian, Flemish, and Dutch Schools, to modern times.

Careful drawings are also given in the *King John's House* volume of the remarkable effigy of Sir W. Payne in Tollard Church, one of the five known effigies with "banded mail."[1]

Volume iv. of *Excavations* was published in 1898. Its chief feature is perhaps the record of the examination of three camps of rectangular form of the Bronze Age, viz., the South Lodge Camp, Handley Hill Entrenchment, and Martin Down Camp. Very little appears to have been done to endeavour to differentiate the Bronze Age camps of Britain from those of other periods, but in this department of archæological field-work the General has opened up a field of enquiry and activity for future archæologists. Of the many hundreds of camps in this country, very few have even been superficially examined, but yet there are probably few the period of construction of which might not be fixed

1 In a beautifully decorated niche in the south wall of this church is a black marble sarcophagus containing the cremated remains of General Pitt-Rivers.

approximately by sections cut through their walls and fossæ.

Volume iv. opens with General Pitt-Rivers's address to the Royal Archæological Institute at Dorchester in 1897, his last public deliverance, which is reprinted to serve as a preface to the volume.

In the autumn of 1893 the General turned his attention to an area of seven acres on Handley Down, which included Wor Barrow (a long barrow of Stone Age construction), two round barrows of the Bronze Age, a grave containing a Bronze Age skeleton with beaker at feet, the supposed site of a Bronze Age and Romano-British camp, and the Bronze Age "Angle-ditch"; the last three were discovered more or less by accident, viz., by hammering the turf with a crow-bar.

In Wor Barrow, on the old surface line, and near the centre, six primary interments were discovered huddled together, three complete skeletons and three put in as bones. No less than nineteen secondary interments were found in the barrow and the immense surrounding ditch. The primary interments, all dolichocephalic, were bounded by an oblong enclosure. The silting of the ditch produced relics of great interest, the successive strata from bottom to top yielding antiquities from the Stone Age down to the Anglo-Saxon period. The two round barrows near by had been previously *dug into* by Sir R. C. Hoare, but General Pitt-Rivers was well rewarded by thoroughly excavating them, and in addition showed the superficial character of his predecessor's digging. In the Angle-ditch spud marks were discovered on the sides of the ditch, a broken palstave or celt being found close by corresponding to the marks.

Four other round barrows on Handley Hill were also examined, which again afforded the General an opportunity of dwelling upon the importance of a careful exploration of the ditches of barrows.

The seventeen human skeletons and three living heads

figured in this volume were measured with the craniometer invented by Pitt-Rivers, the instrument itself being also figured.

The excavation of a trench in the General's nursery garden proved to be of interest, inasmuch as it satisfactorily proved that British uninscribed coins were used at least as late as Claudius I. A chapter at the end of this magnificent volume is devoted to certain typical styles of ornamentation on Bronze Age pottery.

Just before the publication of volume iv., field-work was in progress for three successive months in the autumn of 1897, on the site of a Roman building at Iwerne (? Ibernio), between Blandford and Shaftesbury. Thus, a good start in the field had been made towards a fifth volume of *Excavations*, but the General's constant ill-health delayed matters, and he died with little of a scriptory or pictorial nature prepared.

A fifth volume of the *Excavation* series has, however, been published recently,[1] and consists of an exhaustive index to General Pitt-Rivers's works, a lengthy memoir of him (with three portrait-illustrations), and a bibliographical list of all his works and papers, numbering ninety-five.

The construction of accurate models of ancient sites, before, in progress of, and after excavation, was one of the most distinctive and conspicuous branches of the General's scientific work. The utmost care was taken by his archæological staff to make the contoured plans and other surveys absolutely accurate; every skeleton discovered was drawn to scale and photographed *in situ*. The three hundred and seventeen plates of illustrations to *Excavations* were all prepared and drawn at Rushmore. Three and often four assistants were on the permanent staff, and necessarily they were men of different qualifications. No excavation was allowed to proceed unless one

[1] Privately printed for the author, H. St. George Gray, at Taunton Castle, 1905.

of them at least was present for the whole of the time to supervise the workmen closely; to record everything, whether of momentary interest or not; to mark every relic discovered on plans and sections kept for the purpose with other impedimenta in a temporary hut on the ground; to sketch and photograph interments, masonry, hypocausts, hearths, graves, etc.; to train the most intelligent of the workmen, some having been engaged in several successive excavations. General Pitt-Rivers, of course, directed the whole work, and was often at the diggings for the whole of the day and sometimes for several consecutive days. Not infrequently he has been known to be in the field at 7 a.m. in time to see the workmen arrive.

The General always bestowed the utmost care and exactitude on his archæological writings, and he expected and received the same amount of accuracy from his assistants. His volumes record the precise position and depth at which every object occurred. Without this minute accuracy, the date of some of the ancient sites explored would have been doubtful. Not only were remarkable and unique objects figured in the General's works, but what are of far greater importance to the field archæologist—common objects and broken household utensils, such as would be used in the everyday life of early man.

In the identification of ancient pottery the General developed a wonderful discrimination. He preserved every fragment found in his excavations, and it was often by the form and quality of these common shards that reliable evidence of the age of an earthwork was determined. He has spoken of pottery as the "human fossil," so widely is it distributed.

In 1883, General Pitt-Rivers published his somewhat scarce work, *Primitive Locks and Keys;* and his last book, on the *Works of Art from Benin City*, had only just left the binders' hands at the time of his death. In this he describes his Benin collection, obtained

by the Punitive Expedition in 1897. It contains photographs of the two hundred and forty-two Benin works of art which he bought for his museum at Farnham, and it forms a well-illustrated catalogue of the collection.

In 1882, General Pitt-Rivers was asked to undertake the office of Inspector of Ancient Monuments in Great Britain. It was considered that his position as a landowner would place him in a favourable position for dealing with other landowners to whom monuments belonged. He accepted the post, hoping to render a public service; but although he spent much time in promoting the objects of the Ancient Monuments Protection Act, he had many difficulties to contend with, and he was often disappointed in the results of his labours. No power was taken to compel any owner to place his monument under the Act, and it was purely permissive.

After succeeding to the Rushmore estates, a large proportion of the General's time was absorbed in the formation and development of a second huge collection of archæological and ethnological objects, which now occupies nine galleries in the notable local museum at Farnham, North Dorset. The four smaller rooms originally formed part of a Gipsy School. The original intention of this museum was (i.) to house the relics found in the neighbourhood, together with accurate models of all the sites excavated, and in this way to carry out his views that, as far as practicable, local antiquities should remain in the locality in which they are found; and (ii.) to form a collection, particularly for the education of country folk as a means of popular instruction, of agricultural implements and appliances, including models of country carts, ploughs, tools, textile fabrics, dress, etc., from different localities. But in later years the museum developed into a far larger and more comprehensive collection.

It is not generally known that General Pitt-Rivers was a naturalist of some repute. He kept quite a "menagerie"

in his Park, which was accessible to visitors on asking permission at the park gates. In relation to breeding and hybridization of animals he met with considerable success, but he was not altogether fortunate in his attempts at acclimatization, and, amongst other animals, he could not get the reindeer to live for more than two years. He made many experiments in cross-breeding the pure yak with our domestic cattle. The bull-yaks were crossed with the Jersey, Kerry, Urus, Highland, and Pembroke cows. The following hybrid bulls were broken to harness: the Yak-Pembroke, Yak-Jersey, and two Yak-Highlands. Of these, the Yak-Pembroke soon died; the others, although somewhat treacherous animals, were used in carts for hauling farm produce; they were very strong, and their walking pace faster than that of a horse.

One of the General's hobbies was to afford enjoyment to the neighbouring population—in fact, for everybody who visited his domains; and in order to achieve that end he spared neither expense nor trouble in forming, and almost daily improving upon, the Larmer Grounds, one and a half miles from Rushmore. The "Larmer Tree," an old wych-elm, was a notable landmark and trysting-place, and it was here, tradition says, King John used to assemble with his huntsmen for the chase. Up to the time of the disfranchisement of the chase in 1830, a Court Leet of the Manor was held under this tree on the first Monday in September. When the Court was sitting, the steward and dependents of the Lord of the Manor had the privilege of hunting a deer within the precincts of the manor; this was discontinued by Lord Rivers in 1789. At Rushmore hung a coloured drawing of one of the old keepers of the chase in his forest night-dress; he is armed with a staff and a short hanger; the jack was made of the strongest canvas, well quilted with wool, and the cap of wreaths of straw, bound together with split bramble-stalks, the workmanship resembling that of the ordinary beehive. The deer-stealers were armed with deadly weapons called

"swingles," resembling flails for threshing corn. The portrait of Elias Bailey, the last of the chase-keepers, by Romney, hangs at Rushmore.

Close to the Temple of Vesta, which the General erected at a cost of £2,000, is a bronze statue of Cæsar Augustus, the pedestal bearing the following inscription:—

To the memory of the ancient Roman people, to whom we owe our first civilization, this reproduction of the statue of Cæsar Augustus in the Vatican Museum is erected; also to record the discovery of Roman remains in this neighbourhood.

General Pitt-Rivers was at intervals a semi-invalid at Rushmore, but his abstemiousness of living prolonged his life for many years. Until his health finally began to fail he was a most able conversationalist, and would pour forth from his abundant treasure-house of knowledge the most varied information, provided he was in scientific company or with those who were genuinely anxious to learn. He was generous in his gifts of his noble and costly volumes, but only provided he felt sure they would be really appreciated. He was associated with many Societies and Institutions.[1]

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1 In 1886 he received from the University of Oxford the honorary degree of D.C.L.; in 1876 he was elected F.R.S.; in 1864, F.S.A. (for some years V.P.); First Government Inspector of Ancient Monuments in Great Britain; Fellow of the Royal Geographical and the Geological Societies; Member of the following—British Association (President, Sect. H, Bath, 1888; and President of Anthropology, Brighton, 1872); Anthropological Institute (President, 1875-7 and 1881-3); the extinct Anthropological and the Ethnological Societies of London; Royal Archæological Institute (President, 1887 and 1897); Royal Institution of Great Britain; Royal United Service Institution; Society of Antiquaries of Scotland; Society of Antiquaries of Ireland; the Archæological and Antiquarian Societies of Newcastle-on-Tyne, Cambridge, London and Middlesex (President, 1883-5), Somersetshire, Wiltshire (President, 1890-3), Dorset, Lancashire and Cheshire, etc.; Society of Antiquaries of France; Hon. Member, Royal Irish Academy, and the Anthropological Society of Washington; Foreign Associate of the Anthropological Societies of Paris and Italy; Trustee of the Hunterian Collection of the Royal College of Surgeons (1892-1900). He was a member of the Athenæum Club, and his town house was 4, Grosvenor Gardens, Belgravia.

In 1853, General Pitt-Rivers married the Hon. Alice, eldest daughter of the second Baron Stanley of Alderley. Their eldest son, A. E. Pitt-Rivers,

The General not only solved vast archæological and ethnological problems, but by his researches he raised new ones to be explained by scientists of the twentieth century. His methods in archæological field-work might well be designated in the future "The Pitt-Rivers School of British Archæology."

H. ST. GEORGE GRAY.

who has inherited the Rushmore estates, was born in 1855, and married, in 1889, A. Ruth Hermione, daughter of Lord H. F. Thynne, P.C., and cousin of the Marquis of Bath. The other sons are surnamed Fox-Pitt, their Christian names in order of age being St. George, Major Wm. Augustus, Lionel, and Douglas. The daughters are Mrs. W. C. Scott, of Thorpe, Chertsey; Lady Avebury; and Lady Grove, wife of Sir Walter J. Grove, second Baronet.

THE RISING IN THE WEST, 1655

ALL I can hope to do is to add a few personal touches to that which previous writers have recorded about this brave but ill-starred enterprise, and trust that my readers will find them of interest. In doing so, I am much indebted to the exhaustive paper of the late Mr. W. Ravenhill (*Wilts. Archæological Magazine*, 1875), the special value of which lies in its absolute reliability as the result of careful historic research.

A more recent writer, Sir R. Palgrave, advances the suggestion that the "rising" was but the outcome of a deep design on the part of Cromwell to foster such movements for his own ends, *i.e.*, in order to better crush his opponents. As the direct descendant (and a proud one) of one of the chief leaders in it, I can hardly be suspected of affection for the "usurper"; yet even I shrink from crediting him with such a Machiavellian policy, and would rather believe Cromwell was possessed of singular ability in selecting suitable agents of a system of espionage more complete and extensive than England had previously known; while his military genius taught him how best to place his forces so as to concentrate, if required, at short notice, and deal destruction to his enemies.

The facts of the unfortunate Rising must now be related; they are told at greater length in the *Thurloe Papers*, and by Lord Clarendon, Ludlow, and others. I hope I may be pardoned for giving a description of the families of the two principal leaders—Colonels Hugh Grove and John Penruddock.

Colonel John Penruddock.

The Groves migrated to Wiltshire from Buckinghamshire about the middle of the fifteenth century. A century later they owned considerable estates at Shaftesbury, Donhead, and Ferne. The present representative of the family is Sir Walter Grove, but Ferne has passed out of the family. Another branch, some time prior to 1650, settled at Chisenbury Priors, in the parish of Enford, Wiltshire, and there possessed freehold and leasehold; from these sprang Hugh Grove, a man in his prime in 1655. Married to his cousin, Jane Grove, of Shaftesbury (by whom he had two sons, of whom the younger, John, succeeded him), he lived a quiet country life; but his personal history before the Rising—and even the exact part he took in it—is unrecorded. Enough that he lives to us as a soldier, frank and pleasant, attached to his King and country.

His more distinguished companion, John Penruddock, was born in 1619, probably at his father's house at Compton Chamberlayne. His ancestors first appear in history in the reign of Edward II. as residents at Penruddock, a small township in the manor of Greystoke, in Cumberland, where we find one serving on a jury. In course of time they spread southwards to Wiltshire and other counties. The head of the house remained behind, and received from Queen Elizabeth the manor of Arkelby in Cumberland, on the attainder of Roger de Martindale for joining the unfortunate Mary Queen of Scots.

One of his family, Sir George Penruddock, later distinguished himself at the Battle of St. Quentin, in 1557, as Standard-bearer to William, Earl of Pembroke, Commander-in-Chief of the British Army. Sir George for this received from Queen Catherine Parr a valuable sapphire pendant set with diamonds and attached to a handsome gold chain.

The Compton estate was purchased by Edward Penruddock, Esq., of New Sarum (afterwards Sir Edward Penruddock), at the close of the sixteenth century. At his death, in 1612, it descended to his son, John

Penruddock, father of our hero. The latter was sent to Blandford School; thence he passed to Queen's College, Oxford; after that to Gray's Inn, where he was admitted May 14th, 1636. We learn from Anthony Wood that "at school and college he delighted in books when a man in arms."

In 1639 he married Arundel, daughter of Mr. John Freke, of Ewernes Courtenay and Melcombe, Dorset, a lady of great mental and personal accomplishments. By her he had seven children, of whom Thomas eventually succeeded him, and was later on concerned in the taking of Lady Lisle for harbouring prisoners after the battle of Sedgemoor.

John succeeded to his estates in 1648, on his father's death. His family lost many relations and friends during the Civil War, and also had severe pecuniary losses. In addition to expenditure for horses and arms, the Commissioners of Sequestration visited Compton;[1] and in a family account book we find the following significant entries in Colonel Penruddock's own handwriting:—

	£	s.	d.
Paid for my Composition	1,300	00	00
My own debts contracted during six years sequestration	1,500	00	00

There were some dealings, too, between the Commissioners and Hugh Grove.[2] It is clear from the above that Penruddock, if not Grove, fought for the Crown.

In 1654 the Protector asserted to the Parliament which he so peremptorily dismissed on January 31st, 1655, that plots were being made against himself and the Government by both Levellers and Cavaliers. No doubt his spies were correct in this report, and the Levellers were crushed on account of it.

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1 *Domestic State Papers*, No. 323.
2 Sir R. Hoare's *Modern Wilts: Hundred of Elstub and Everley.*

The Cavaliers had hitherto struck no blow, but though troubled they were not utterly cast down, and a general rising throughout England was arranged. The King (afterwards Charles II.) had secret agents among both laity and clergy, who kept him informed, and stirred up the Royalists in various parts of England. To the West was sent Sir Joseph Wagstaffe, a "boon companion," very popular amongst his own party, bold and courageous, but without the qualifications necessary for a great general.

With regard to the propriety of a rising just then the friends of the King were by no means unanimous. The "Sealed Knot" were against it; many leading Cavaliers, and also the King himself, were not very hopeful about it. Moreover, the day for action, after a rising had been determined upon, was undecided and confused—at least, to some of the leaders.

There was certainly an understanding for a rising at Taunton, to secure it and other places; and in Wiltshire to attack Marlborough about February 12th or 14th, 1655; but owing to Colonel Boteler's vigilance this came to nothing. After that there were meetings of cavaliers at Compton Chamberlayne and at Salisbury, nominally for fox-hunting, horse-racing being prohibited.

Finally, March 12th was fixed as the trysting-day. On Sunday, the 11th, about sixty men met in Clarendon Park, where they were joined by forty more; thence they marched to Blandford, where they gained another eighty men; and thence back towards Salisbury, where reinforcements from Hampshire were awaited, of whom few, however, appeared.

Fearing to wait longer, at early dawn of the next morning while yet dark they entered Salisbury, two hundred strong, led by Sir Joseph Wagstaffe, Colonels Penruddock, Grove, and Jones. There they seized all the horses in the town, posted guards, and broke open the gaol, finding therein willing recruits. Next they apprehended the Judges of Assize (Lord Chief Justice Rolle

and Mr. Baron Nicholas) in their beds, and the High Sheriff (Mr. John Dove). Having brought them out of doors, Wagstaffe ordered them to be hanged; but with Christian nobility and magnanimity, Penruddock protested against this step, and procured release for the Judges, though shorn of their commissions. The High Sheriff was reserved as a hostage.

Charles II. was proclaimed King, and the people assured that a general rising was about to be successfully carried out. But the good people of Salisbury were cautious, and discreetly remained spectators only. Perhaps with regard to Cromwell they believed "better the de'il ye ken," etc.!

Under these circumstances, the Cavaliers left Salisbury and went westward, fearing to be overtaken by Cromwell's forces, and desirous of meeting with fresh reinforcements first. It will be remembered to their credit that they committed no acts of plunder at Salisbury, save in the matter of horses.

The whole body passed out through Downton to Blandford. There Penruddock "forced the cryer to go to the market cross to proclaim Charles Stewart King," but the cryer objected to the word "King," and was beaten in consequence, though he still maintained his constancy.

From Blandford they went to Sherborne, staying there two hours. Thence to Yeovil, after leaving which they allowed the Sheriff to go free, as no exchange had been offered for him. Thence to Collumpton (Devon), ten miles from Exeter, then Tiverton, and they pressed on to reach Cornwall, hoping to find many friends there. On reaching South Molton, in North Devon, at seven o'clock in the evening (March 14th), utterly worn out, they resolved to rest there that night.

Short repose they had! Three hours after their arrival they were attacked by Captain Unton Crook and his troop of horse from the garrison at Exeter.

Though their numbers had decreased to little more than a hundred men, yet had they been fresh and prepared they might have been a match for their enemies; as it was, many fled in the darkness—among them Sir Joseph Wagstaffe. The rest fought on for some hours, till some surrendered on condition their lives were spared. Who these were is uncertain; Penruddock and Grove afterwards asserted they were among the number, but this Crook denied. It may be Crook spoke untruly, or there may have been mistakes made owing to the darkness.

In all, sixty or seventy were arrested; Penruddock and his cousin, Edward Penruddock, Grove, Jones, and others. The prisoners were removed to Exeter Gaol, and there placed in the custody of the Sheriff.

On March 17th we have a pathetic account of the sad event in a letter from Penruddock to his wife, commencing "My dear Heart," and urging her to obtain his release by every interest possible—an injunction we know she only too courageously but vainly endeavoured to carry out. She was to address herself to kinsfolk of influence, to Lord Richard Cromwell, and even the Protector himself, though Penruddock clearly believed Captain Crook would speak in his favour, not only because of his word passed, but because with generous magnanimity Penruddock and his brave friends "did not desert our soldiers, as others did." We may be sure his deepest anxiety that his life might be preserved was for the sake of his wife and young children, to whom he alludes thus in his letter: "If I die, I have made my will, . . . being but tenant for term of my life, my estate comes to your son and you. I have made over part for payment of my debts and providing for my younger children."

Such is an outline of this heroic attempt, made by gallant leaders of a forlorn hope. Would that they had had a more worthy object for their devotion than Charles II., or that their lives might have been spared to see his Restoration only five years later.

At Exeter the prisoners were examined by General Disbrowe, and a catalogue of them—now a hundred and thirty-six in all—sent to Cromwell, who resolved that no new Court should be instituted or Special Commission issued to try them; but to have them left to the ordinary procedure of a Commission of "oyer and terminer." Perhaps Cromwell thought a Special Commission would be less subservient to his wishes.

There are many noble names concerned in this "Rising," such as St. Loe, Pile, Lucas, Dean, and others, about whom space forbids me to write.

About March 20th, Colonels Penruddock and Jones were brought to London without their companions Grove or Hunt. Penruddock was, after a preliminary examination at Whitehall, lodged in the Tower, where he remained until April 9th, when he was moved to the "Swane Inn in the Strand." He was more than once examined at Whitehall, and we gather these interviews left upon his mind a feeling of respect for the Protector; we may well believe this was mutual. By the 11th of April Penruddock and Jones had reached Salisbury, where, no doubt, Penruddock was able to take a brief farewell of his dear ones. On the 17th our heroes were conducted to Exeter to be tried—their last journey!

With regard to the time at Salisbury, it is of interest to read the following extract from the newspaper *Perfect Account* of April 15th, 1655:—

> Salisbury. April 12th. Colonels Penruddock and Jones and Mr. Macke the apothecary of this place came yesterday to this town from London in order to their tryall. . . . Colonel Penruddock seems to be no whit daunted or dismayed at the near approach of his tryall, which most people look upon as the very next step unto death, saying that he hath a quiet conscience, which is a continual feast, and refresheth and will support him in the time of the greatest difficulty and distress; but Colonel Jones seems to be a man of milder spirit, which often melteth his sorrow into tears.

The length and breadth of "treason" (for which the prisoners were arraigned) till the time of Edward III. was

difficult to determine, but in that reign it was more clearly defined. By the "Statute of Treasons" it was declared to be treason:—

> When a man doth compass or imagine the death of our Lord the King or of our Lady the Queen, his wife, or of their son and heir," &c..... "or if a man do levy war against our Lord the King in his realms, or be adherent to the King's enemies, in his realm, giving them aid and comfort in the realm or elsewhere, and thereof be provably attainted of open deed by the people of their [own] condition.

It was this Act which Penruddock quoted in his defence, maintaining that the Protector did not come under its provisions, as he was not a "King." Penruddock had fought for his lawful King (Charles I.) until Cromwell roused the feeling of Parliament and Army to clamour for his execution. After that event, Cromwell never rested till he had himself made "Lord Protector of the Commonwealth" by a semi-terrorised Parliament supported by his "Ironsides," flushed with victories gained over devoted—but utterly untrained—followers of the late King; but the nation at large had no voice given them in the election of Cromwell; while the Royalists refused to recognise his authority, and longed to see their late royal master's son in the "usurper's" place. Penruddock, therefore, resented the charge of "high treason" as being both unjust and illegal.

His Judges held, however, that the Protector's authority and a King's were identical, so that to all intents and purposes the Act applied to him, and on this decision the trial was based, though the Attorney-General refused to let the Statute be read in open court. It is interesting to know that at the Restoration came the judicial assertion, after little, if any, discussion, that the wandering exile, Charles II., was King *de jure* and *de facto* throughout the whole of the Protector's reign.

The letters from Colonel Penruddock to his wife and hers to him, while in prison, are incomparably touching and beautiful.

No efforts were spared to induce Cromwell to relent in the case of Penruddock and Grove. All petitions save one, however, were rejected, the exception being that these two might be "beheaded," instead of the more usual and ignominious sentence of "hanging and quartering." Cromwell, indeed, could hardly have refused this without incurring deserved obloquy for exposing honourable men to unnecessary indignities; but at least let us concede whatever credit is due to him.

The names of the Justices and that of the High Sheriff of Devon (Sir John Copplestone), are too well-known to need detailed mention here.

In spite of a most gallant defence, conducted, too, with much skill and knowledge of the law, Penruddock and Grove were found guilty by a jury who possibly dared not pass any other sentence—if we may judge from Mr. James Nutley's remarks in a letter to Secretary Thurloe (April 21st, 1655):—

> The Grand Jury here, although they first made diverse scruples upon the bills of high treason [*i.e.*, on the question of "King" and not "Protector" being mentioned in the Statute of Treason[1]] yet—I was with them all the tyme to *manadge* the evidence, and untill they privately debated the matter amongst themselves—

and similar remarks from Colonel Boteler to Thurloe. Comment is needless!

On May 3rd the death-warrant was signed at Whitehall, and sent off to Exeter. Mrs. Penruddock writes thus touchingly to her husband:—

> MY DEAR HEART,
>
> My sad parting was so far from making me forget you that I have scarce thought upon myself since, but wholly upon you. Those dear embraces which I yet feel and shall never lose [being the faithful testimonies of an indulgent husband] have charmed my soul to such a reverence of your remembrances that, were it possible, I would with my own blood cement your dead limbs to life again, and with reverence

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[1] Words in brackets and italics are the writer's comments.

think it no sin to rob heaven a little longer of a martyr. Oh, my dear! you must now pardon my passion, though being the last (oh fateful word!) that ever you will receive from me; and know that until the last minute that I can imagine you shall live I will sacrifice the prayers of a Christian and the groans of an affected [afflicted?] wife; and when you are not, which sure by sympathy I shall know, I shall wish my own dissolution with you, that so we may go hand in hand to heaven. It is too late to tell you what I have, or rather have not, done for you. How turned out of doors because I came to beg for mercy! The Lord lay not your blood to their charge.

I would fain discourse longer with you but dare not, my passion begins to drown my reason, and will rob me of my devoir, which is all I have left to serve you.

Adieu therefore, ten thousand times my dearest dear, and since I must never see you more, take this prayer: "May your faith be so strengthened that your constancy may continue, and then I hope heaven will receive you, where grief and love will in a short time after I hope translate, my dear, your sad but constant wife, even to love your ashes when dead."

A. PENRUDDOCK.

Your children beg your blessing and present their duties to you.

At Compton are paintings of two young (Freke) nephews of this lady, who fell victims to the cruel pikes of Cromwell's soldiers when merely presenting a petition to the Protector for their uncle's life.

Colonel Penruddock's defence when on trial is a long one, but one extract is worthy of notice at least: it occurs in his address to the jury:—

Gentlemen, you do not see a haire of my head but is numberd, neither can you make any one of them, much less can you put breath into my Nostrils when it is taken out. A sparrow does not fall upon the ground wthhout the providence of God, much less shall man, to whome he hath given dominion, & Rule over all the creatures of the earth. Gentlemen, looke upon me, I am the Image of my creator, and that stamp of his wch is on my vizwage, is not to be defaced, wthhout an account given wherefore it was. I have here challenged, as I am a gentleman, and a Free-born man of England the Right wch the laws allowes mee. I demand that the statute may be read, wch says I am guiltie of treason, it is denyed both to you and mee.

Colonel Penruddock's letter in reply to that of his wife (before given) is equally beautiful, but longer. We will give parts of it:—

MY DEAREST HEART,

I even now received thy farewell letter, each word whereof represents unto me a most lively emblem of your affection drawn with thy own hand in water colour, to the figure of a death's head. My dear, I embrace it as coming first from God, and then from man; for what is there done in the City that the Lord hath not permitted? I look upon every line of thine as so many threads twisted together into that of my life, which being now woven, my meditations tell me will make a fit remnant for my winding-sheet. Upon the reading th'of I say with the Prophet, I should have utterly fainted, but that I verily believe to see the goodness of the Lord in the land of the living. . . . When I think what a wife and what children I go from and look no further, I begin to cry, O! wretched man that I am! But when my thoughts soar higher, and fix themselves upon those things which are above, where I shall find God my Creatour, to my Father, and his Son my Redeemer to my Brother (for so they have vouchsafed to term themselves) then I lay aside those relations and do of all love, my dear, desire thee not to look towards my Grave, where my Body lies, but toward the heaven, where I hope my soul shall gain a mansion in my Father's house. . . . The greatest conflicte I have had in this extremitie was my parting with thee; the next encounter is to be with Death, and my Saviour hath so pulled out the sting thereof, that I hope to assault it without fear. Though the armies of men have been too hard for me, yet am I now lifting myself under the conduct of my Sovereign, and an army of martyrs, that the gates of hell cannot prevail against . . . I have formerly given you directions concerning my children, to which I shall referre you. May the blessing of Almighty God be upon thee and them, and may there not want a man of my name to be ready to be a sacrifice in this cause of God and his church so long as the sun and moon shall endure. . . . If I could forget this city of Exeter for their civilities to my own self in particular indeed to all of us, I should leave a reproach behind me, I will give them thanks at my death, and I hope you and yours will do it when I am dead.

My dear heart, I once more bid thee Adieu, and with as much love and sincerity as can be imagined,

I subscribe myself

Thy dying and loving husband,

JNO. PENRUDDOCK.

Exon—May 7. and the last year and day of my date,[1]
being the year of my Saviour. 1655.

Well may Sir Richard Steele say of such letters: "I do not know that I have ever read anything so affectionate. . . ."[2]

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1 May 7th was his birthday, and in the spirit of the age, he thought it was to be his death-day.

2 *The Lover*, March 13th, 1714.

On the scaffold both Penruddock and Grove behaved with Christian fortitude. The former made a long speech, the introduction to which (written by his own hand, and "left with a gent, and friend of his") contains the following:—

As he was ascending the scaffold, baring his knees and humbly bowing himself he used these words: "This I hope will prove to be like Jacob's ladder; though the feet of it rest on earth, yet I doubt not but the top of it reacheth to Heaven."

When putting off his "dublett," he said: "I am now putting of these old raggs of mine, and am going to be clad with the new robes of the righteousness of Jesus Christ." Later he kneeled down, and prayed aloud; and afterwards standing up, he

. . . Calls 3 or 4 times for the sight of the axe which when it was brought to him he kiss't it twice or thrice and told the Executonr that he forgave him and will'd him to be no more afraid to give him the blow than he was to receave it. [Then he desired to see the axe, and after kissing it he said I am likely to have a sharp passage of it, but my Saviour hath sweetened it unto me.]

Colonel Grove's speech was shorter, but full of brave Christian courage. The Zeals MS. says:—"Colonel Grove was brought upon the stage, who during the tyme of his comeing thither and stay there kept up a gallant and heroick spirit." Grove desired God to forgive Captain Crook for "denying his articles soe unworthily," clearly showing he believed Crook had promised them their lives.

Grove was buried at Exeter, being followed to St. Sidwell's Church "by some thousand persons of a depressed party, of which I then thought myself happy to be one."[1] After the Restoration a small brass tablet was placed in the church to his memory.

In the Compton Chamberlayne Register there is the following entry in the Vicar's (Mr. Martin) handwriting:—

John Penruddock Esqre died at Exeter May 16th and buried at Compton the 19th of the same month.

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1 Izaacke, *Hist. of Exeter*, p. 10.

And in the account book preserved at Compton we read:—

	£	s.	d.
Ffor bringing home Mr. Penruddock's body from Exon to Compton	07	00	00
ffor a tombstone the mason's work about it . .	02	07	06
More for ribbands and gloves	00	19	11

Then follow other items, "sawing boards" among others.

In 1855, some repairs being made to the floor of Compton Church, in a small brick vault were found the undoubted remains of the gallant Royalist, but no part of a skull or teeth, so we presume his head remained at Exeter Gaol.

His widow suffered great pecuniary troubles, her home sequestrated for a time, during which she found refuge with the staunch family friend, Mr. John Martin, previously referred to, at Tisbury; while piece after piece of her property was seized by the Commissioners.

One bright gleam in her sorrow reaches us. On March 23rd, 1657, there comes an Order in Council that "a sum of £200 out of John Penruddock's personal estate is granted to Arundell, his widow, for the benefit of the younger son and five daughters of the said John"; though that small amount soon proved insufficient.

Among the most honoured treasures now at Compton Park are seen the fine lace cap in which Penruddock was beheaded, marred by the cut of the headsman's axe, and stained; also his trusty sword and the originals of the letters quoted. Two portraits of him (one by Dobson) adorn the walls, showing a gentleness of countenance combined with firmness which belong rather to the Christian gentleman and scholar than the soldier.

Nothing but a sense of duty to his country, to preserve it from the tyranny of a Cromwellian despotism, and carry on the old line of monarchy in spite of its failings (which must have been apparent to his clear judgment), could have moved a man of Penruddock's character to forsake

his peaceful home a second time, and risk life and property in strife.

To such natures as his the verdict of "Guilty of high treason" was indeed abhorrent, and we feel that Cromwell won by the power of "might," not "right."

Apparently the loyalty shown to the Stuarts still survived to a later period, for one Charles Penruddocke (in the time of the "Pretenders") refused to go to Court like his predecessors; and a portrait of him is at Compton Park in plain hunting dress, instead of the Court dress of the other members of his family. The tradition says he used to foregather with like-minded country gentlemen of his neighbourhood—of Jacobite proclivities—at an old posting inn called "Cribbage Hut" (about four and a half miles from Compton Chamberlayne), where, under the pretext of a game of "cribbage," the Stuart interests were discussed and healths drunk to "the King"—"over the water"!

Of John Penruddock (and his companions) on the scaffold we may say—as of their royal master (Charles I.):—

> He nothing common did or mean
> Upon that memorable scene,
> But with his keener eye
> The axe's edge did try;
> Nor called the gods with vulgar spite
> To vindicate his helpless right;
> But bowed his comely head
> Down as upon a bed.
>
> —*Andrew Marvell.*

S. K. L. EARLE (*née* PENRUDDOCKE).

THE ROYAL FORESTS OF WILTSHIRE AND CRANBORNE CHASE

THE royal forests of Wiltshire were more important and more considerable than those of any other county, not even excepting the adjacent division of Hampshire with the New Forest, Alice Holt, Woolmer, and Bere.

The royal forests of this county were Clarendon with Groveley, Melksham and Pewsham, Braden, Savernake, Chute, and a considerable section of the Selwood district. To these must be added a large portion of the forest area of Cranborne Chase. It is proposed in this brief essay to say a few words on each of these forests, and then to give more particular attention to Cranborne Chase.

First of all, however, in order to avoid misunderstanding, it may be necessary to state that the modern use of the word forest differs materially from the signification attached to it in mediæval days. A forest did not originally mean a district covered with trees or underwood. The English term forest, in Norman, Plantagenet, and early Tudor times, signified a portion of territory, consisting of extensive waste lands, and including a certain amount of both woodland and pasture, circumscribed by defined metes and bounds, within which the right of hunting was reserved exclusively to the King, and which was subject to a special code of laws administered by local as well as central ministers.[1] From the fact that

[1] Cox's *Royal Forests of England* (1905), chap. i.

so many wastes were covered with wood or undergrowth, it gradually came about that the term "forest" (which has etymologically no connection with timber, but means a waste) was applied to a great wood.

Such a consideration as this at once explains the application of the name forest to such districts as Dartmoor, Exmoor, or the High Peak of Derbyshire, where it is idle to pretend that anything more than mere fragments of these great tracts of country were ever wooded in historic or even in prehistoric times.

It may also be well to remark that forest law only prevailed over those districts that were technically afforested, and did not extend to parks or wastes in private hands outside those areas, however thickly they might be wooded.

The Forest of CLARENDON, in the south of the county, formed part of the royal demesne in pre-Norman days. The royal residence at Clarendon was only a short distance to the east of Salisbury, but the forest of that name was of great extent, and included the parks of Milchet and Buckholt, and also the smaller forests of Panshet and Groveley, though the two latter were at one time under separate administration. The Close Rolls of the earlier part of the reign of Henry III. show how generous the Crown was at that period with gifts of timber, particularly for ecclesiastical purposes. Among the recipients of oaks for building purposes, between 1224 and 1334, were the nuns of Amesbury, Romsey, and Wilton; the Franciscans of Salisbury; the Austin canons of Ivychurch; and the chapter of New Sarum. After the great fall of 1233, when all England was strewn with prostrate trees and branches, the large sum of £40 from the sale of the root-fallen trees of Clarendon was set aside towards the works of Winchester Castle.

In 1229 the King granted William, Earl of Pembroke, twenty Clarendon does towards stocking his park at

Hampstead. The vast majority of the timber trees of this, as of other forests, was oak; but at Buckholt was a great wood exclusively of beech to which there is frequent reference from the days of Henry III. to Henry VII. The supply of fallow deer throughout the forest was evidently considerable, but there is no trace of red deer to be found among the very considerable extant records.

The Dean and Chapter of Salisbury had the tithe of the venison of this forest granted to them by charter of Henry II.—a charter confirmed on several occasions by later Kings. Among the chapter muniments there is the record of the arrival of fifteen deer for the cathedral clergy in a single year of the reign of Richard II., when the deer that had been killed amounted to one hundred and fifty.

An elaborate survey was taken of Clarendon Park in 1650; the outside forest had long ago disappeared. The impaled park then included an area of 4,293 acres, and possessed about five hundred deer. The timber trees numbered 14,919. After the Restoration, Charles II. granted this park to George Monk, Duke of Albemarle.

MELKSHAM and PEWSHAM formed the forest district about the centre of the county. In earlier days this royal forest was usually known as Melksham or Chippenham. Here, too, we can find no record of red deer. There was quite a plague amongst the deer of England about the beginning of the reign of Henry VII. In this forest eighty-two deer died in his first year, namely, twenty-seven bucks, thirty-five does, and twenty fawns; in the second, the alarming total of deaths from murrain was three hundred and forty; and in the third year the total loss was one hundred and forty. Most of this forest was disafforested in the time of James I., but the Crown retained the liberty of Bowood, adjacent to Calne, which was part of Pewsham Forest. A survey of 1653 shows

that Bowood, "late parcel of the possessions of Charles Stewart, late King of England," consisted of 958 acres, bearing 10,921 trees. At the Restoration, Bowood reverted to the Crown, but Charles II. sold it to Sir Orlando Bridgman. The parks of the Marquis of Lansdowne and Captain Spicer, and their immediate vicinity, contain much beautiful, rough and broken ground, but little changed in appearance from its condition in mediæval days.

BRADEN FOREST, in the extreme north of the county, a little to the south of Cricklade, was of great extent, and used to abound in both red and fallow deer. In March, 1231, when Henry III. was at Marlborough, Hugh de Samford, the chief keeper of this forest, was ordered to supply the King's sister, Isabel, with two hinds against Easter, as the lady was tarrying at Marlborough. In August of the same year, Henry III. sent his huntsman to hunt Braden Forest, and take thence for the royal use ten harts (red) and fifteen bucks (fallow). The male deer were hunted in the late summer, and the female in the winter. The hospital of Cricklade had permission from the same King to have full way-leave throughout the whole forest for horses and carts, to obtain fuel whenever needed for the brethren and poor of that house. Braden was not formally disafforested until the time of Charles II.

SAVERNAKE, another important royal forest of Wiltshire, lay to the south of Marlborough; it was divided into two bailywicks, the one in the Hundred of Selkley, and the other in the Hundred of Kinwardstone. In this forest there were red, fallow, and roe deer. There is much unpublished matter extant with regard to this forest from the thirteenth century onwards. The record of the Forest Pleas held at Amesbury in August, 1490, are in English. The following may serve as an example of the numerous

presentments then made to the justices by the forest ministers:—

> John Eston, under forester of the West Bayle, presenteth that Richard Wroughton, Walter Quynteyn, with others, the Wenysday next after the feast of Saint Barnabye thappostell the yeare aboveseid hunted Chychyngbye, & then & there a sowere with bow & harrowes slewe & flesshe & skynne carried away.

A "sowere," soar, or sore was the name for a buck of the fourth year.

The noble park of the Marquis of Ailesbury, around Tottenham House, with a considerable extent of open timbered ground on the east, enables us to form an idea of the wilder parts of the once great forest district of Savernake.

CHUTE FOREST lay to the south-west of Savernake; although it extended some way into Hampshire, it was always considered to be in the main a Wiltshire forest. In its earlier days this district was well stocked with red deer, but only fallow deer are named in its fifteenth century records. In the days of Henry III., red deer (both harts and hinds) were frequently sent from this forest to royal favourites or reserved for the King's table. Among those who received oaks for building purposes during that reign from Chute were the Abbess of Nunnaminster (Winchester), the Prioress of Amesbury, and the Countess of Pembroke; in the last of these instances the timber was to be used for the repair of the mills of Newbury.

The ancient forest of SELWOOD, of very wide and somewhat uncertain extent, is more usually reckoned under Somersetshire. Selwood certainly included a large portion of East Somersetshire, and extended itself southward from Frome just across the borders into Dorsetshire; but it also embraced the south-western confines of Wiltshire, at the extremity of the Hundred of Westbury.

CRANBORNE CHASE

A chase was like a forest, unenclosed and only defined by metes and bounds, and capable of containing a park or parks within its limits; but the distinction was that it could be held by a subject. Offences therein were, as a rule, punishable under the Common Law, and not by forest jurisdiction. Nevertheless, swainmotes or minor forest courts were sometimes held within chases, and presentments for various deer trespasses were considered lawful through custom. In such cases as these, of which Cranborne Chase was the most remarkable example, these customary rights of the owner of the chase proved that the district had originally been a royal forest; and that when the Crown granted it to a subject, the local administration of a forest still remained. The highly important point of difference between a chase and a forest always, however, prevailed —namely, that no Forest Pleas by the itinerant justices were ever held in connection with either the venison or vert trespasses of those resident in a chase district.

As the Inner Chase as well as the Outer Chase of Cranborne extended into Wiltshire, it may be fairly regarded as pertaining just as much to that county as to Dorset.

The ancient extent of this chase is not easy to define; for not only did its confines vary somewhat from time to time, but there were outer and inner bounds, corresponding to some extent to those of a forest and its purlieus. The "out-bounds"—the old local term—embraced the north-east corner of Dorset, with certain adjacent portions of both Wiltshire and Hampshire. It contained about 800,000 acres and seventy-two parishes; its circuit was nearly a hundred miles, and it included parts of the city of Salisbury and of the towns of Wilton, Shaftesbury, Blandford, Wimborne, Ringwood, etc. Within this great territory was the chase proper or the "in-bounds," a district

about ten miles in length, between three and four in breadth, and twenty-seven in circuit.

The earliest historical record of the chase is in the year 1216, when a perambulation of the chief parts of the chase, as they were subsequently known, was undertaken. This royal order refers, *inter alia*, to the chase of William, Earl of Gloucester, the King's father-in-law, and in all probability was that part known as the in-bounds. In 1280 the whole bounds of both the outer and inner chase were set forth with great particularity, and were frequently exemplified at later dates under judicial authority or as a consequence of legal proceedings.

The Earls of Gloucester in the thirteenth century maintained a staff of seven foresters for upholding the rights of the chase. As an instance of the severity of the forest rule, a case presented by the jurors of the Hundred of Badbury may be mentioned. In 1280 they reported that a certain deer that had been wounded with an arrow came into the township of Kingston, on the land of Hereward de Marreys; that the deer being weak, it was taken by his villeins and women; that on this coming to the ears of the steward of the chase, he sent his foresters to Kingston, whence they took a thousand sheep, and drove them to Pimperne to the fee of the Earl of Gloucester; and that the sheep were kept there until Hereward had paid the heavy fine of twenty marks.

At the forest pleas held at Sherborne in 1288, the jurors of Badbury Hundred stated that the Earl of Gloucester's foresters levied a new custom by attaching all vehicles passing through the bounds of the chase with vert, boards, or any kind of timber, taking them to Cranborne, and extorting amercements at will; that among other exactions they take 12*d.* for every load of wood sold by those freemen who had woods within the bounds. The jury sentenced one of the offenders who was not a true forester to be imprisoned; the rest of the foresters (save one who was acquitted) were imprisoned, but enlarged on

payment of a fine of 20*s*. Among other of these offences that the jury condemned was the taking away of the dogs of the freemen of the chase, who had always been permitted to hunt the fox and the hare.

At a court of Cranborne "Forest," held on October 5th, 1277, before Sir William Herbert as chief steward, the deputies for the foresters of the East and West Wards and of Chittle appeared and reported *omnia bene*. The forester *itinerans*, which seems to have been the local term for the riding or mounted forester of the whole chase, made a like return. The foresters of Westbuckden presented one Walter Frye for pasturing three sheep in the past summer on the Queen's Chase, to the consumption of the herbage and the damage of the game. They also presented Margery Bernard, of Chettle, widow, for non-payment of an ancient rent of a quarter of wheat, of barley, and of oats, and certain fowls.

The foresters of Alderholt presented that the nuns of Shaftesbury had not for the past eight years paid an ancient debt of 4*s*. 6*d*. In addition to the foresters of the five wards or walks just named, the parker of Blagdon, the woodward of Burchalke, and the woodward of Ashmore also made presentments, which were in each case *omnia bene*.

In 1321 Roger Damory obtained license to include in the park of Blagdon his great wood of Blakedon (Blagdon) within the chase of Cranborne, which contained five hundred acres. The Minister's Accounts at the Public Record Office of the year immediately following this imparking gives particulars of the sale of wood at Blagdon; the large sum of £13 1*s*. 10*d*. was realised. Blagdon was disparked about 1570. The office of parker carried with it, in this case, "the ferme of the cunnyes," *i.e.*, rabbits.

There is an extant though mutilated account of the reeve of Cranborne for the same year, in which Blagdon wood was inclosed. Considerable repairs were then being

done to the bakehouse and kitchen of the *camera juxta aulam;* a carpenter was paid 5*d.* for two days' work in repairing the garderobe of the lodge. The same account makes mention of iron for the forge.

The accounts of Henry Cousyn, the receiver of Cranborne Chase, for 1369-70, show a total of receipts amounting to £432 12*s.* 8¼*d.* The necessary expenses include 5*s.* 6*d.* for a new bushel measure of wood, and 12*d.* for a gallon measure of the same material, sealed with the seal of Roger Marchiel, to serve as standards for the Hundred court. At the same time, 20*d.* was paid for six gallon measures for the courts throughout the lordship. Repairs were done that year to the lodge and to the chapel that pertained it; for this purpose, certain ash trees were felled; the repairs included lead gutters for the roof.

The accounts of the bailiffs and keepers of the chase for 1412-13, when Henry Stanley was chief keeper or warden, show the wide extent of the chase rights then claimed: 40*s.* was received that year in cheminage fees at the bridges of Salisbury and Wilton.

At a court of the chase held on July 25th, 1548, the forester *itinerans* presented one Thomas Morgan, of Woodcote, for disturbing the game with three greyhounds during the previous winter; the foresters of Westbuckden presented William Morgan for walking in the chase with bow and arrows, and Walter Frye for killing a doe with his dog; and the foresters of Eastbuckden presented Thomas Morgan for entering the chase with greyhounds and killing a fawn.

The damage done by the fallow deer of this well-stocked chase (which was estimated to support 2,000 head at the beginning of the seventeenth century) and by their keepers or foresters was a continuous grievance to the holders of lands in the out-bounds and adjacent manors. In 1581, John Swaine, of Blandford, was charged before the chief justice in Eyre with not permitting the keepers

to rechase the deer within his manor of Tarrant Gunville, demesne of Rauton; and also with forestalling the deer, and with cutting and inclosing his coppices. The decision was in Swaine's favour with regard to the coppices; but it was ordered that he should suffer the chase keepers to hunt and rechase the deer out of his purlieu and demesne without disturbance.

The lords of the manor of Cranborne were always lords of the chase. This free chase and warren were granted with the manor, in 1612, to the Earl of Salisbury and his heirs. Six years later, the extensive rights of the new lord were tested. Lord Arundel of Wardour and other Wiltshire owners set up a claim that all their lands were exempt from the chase, killed the deer, and brought actions against the keepers for trespass. This encouraged Mr. Swaine and other Dorset owners to take the same line with Tarrant Gunville and other property in the out-bounds of that county; but the Earl of Salisbury eventually sustained all his ancient rights. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Mr. Pitt and Lord Rivers, successive lords of the chase, won several important actions in defence of their claims.

In one case, the keeper of the chase experienced a legal reverse; for a notable trial in connection with the outlying rights of this chase in Wiltshire occurred at the Lent Assizes at Salisbury in 1816, when Mr. King, of Trow Down, in the parish of Alvediston, successfully maintained his right to drive off with dogs deer that were depasturing on his grass and herbage. At this trial a large number of ancient documents were brought forward on one side and the other. There is an extended account of this interesting trial in Hoare's *Wilts.* (iv. 95-101).

Two singular customs of like character and of long standing within the chase were successively suppressed by Lord Rivers. On the day of the court leet of the manor of Tollard Royal (the first Monday in September), the residents on the manor were in the habit of hunting and

killing the deer. In 1789, Lord Rivers contested this right, and obtained a verdict whereby the Tollard Hunt came to an end; but it was afterwards the custom for the chase hounds to meet here, killing a brace of bucks which were afterwards presented to Lord Arundell, the lord of the manor, without the customary fee. This Tollard court leet was held under an old wych elm known as the Larmer Tree (a corruption of Lavermere) up to 1830. General Pitt-Rivers, in his account of "King John's House," printed in 1890, says:—

> My woodman, George Kerley, now eighty-three, tells me he has often been present at the holding of these courts under the tree. The steward presided. The business consisted generally in the appointment of a hayward and other matters connected with cattle in the wood.

In 1817, Lord Rivers obtained a decision that upset another like old custom that prevailed at Handley, in the Dorset confines of the chase. The inhabitants of the manor up to that date had held a general hunt of the deer on the day when the manorial court was sitting. The decision brought to an end two popular court-day deer-hunts, which had doubtless originated from the fact that all the leading forest and manorial officials were at such times on duty within the court-house.

The chase itself was for a long period divided into six walks, each having its own lodge or residence for the forester or keeper and his assistants. Cranborne used to be the chief lodge, but afterwards Rushmore, in Wiltshire. The other walks in the close of its history were Staplefoot, West Walk, Bursey Stool Walk, Chettered Walk, and Cobley Walk. To each of these a gentleman ranger was assigned, deputed by Lord Rivers. Formerly there were two other walks—Aldershot, whose deer were destroyed in the sixteenth century; and Fern Ditch, disfranchised by the Earl of Pembroke about 1800.

During the disturbed period of the Civil War and afterwards, during the Commonwealth, deer-hunting by unauthorised persons became customary on Cranborne

Chase, and was subsequently indulged in by many of the gentlemen of the neighbourhood as a kind of "brave diversion." In the earlier part of the eighteenth century not a few persons of good breeding and birth thought it no disgrace to hunt or poach at night, to drive the deer into nets, and to enter into fierce combats with the keepers. Hutchins thus describes this "kind of knight-errantry amusement of the most substantial gentlemen of the neighbourhood":—

> The manner of this amusement, as it was then called, was nearly as follows: A company of hunters, from four to twenty in number, assembled in the evening, dressed in cap, jack, and quarterstaff, and with dogs and nets. Having set the watchword for the night, and agreed whether to stand or run, in case they should meet the keepers, they proceed to Cranborne Chase, set their nets at such places where the deer are most likely to run, then let slip their dogs, well used to the sport, to drive the deer into the nets, a man standing at each end to strangle the deer as soon as entangled. Thus they passed such a portion of the night as their success induced them, sometimes bringing off six or eight deer, good or bad, such as fell into the net, but generally of the latter sort, which was a matter of little importance to those gentlemen hunters who regarded the sport, not the venison. Frequent desperate bloody battles took place; and instances have unfortunately happened where sometimes keepers, at other times hunters, have been killed.

In that rare book, Mr. Chafin's *Anecdotes of Cranborne Chase* (1818), the special details of the deer-hunter's equipment are thus described:—

> The cap was formed with wreaths of straw tightly bound together with split bramble-stalks, the workmanship much the same as that of the common bee-hives. The jacks were made of the strongest canvas, well quilted with wool to guard against the heavy blows of the quarterstaff, weapons which were much used in those days, and the management of them requiring great dexterity.

Soon after the "gentlemen" who indulged in "this rude Gothic amusement" of night poaching had had their portraits taken in their protective suits, which somewhat resemble those worn by American football players, this kind of sport fell into abeyance among those of position, for the poor reason that it was patronised by the lower

orders. Hutchins shrewdly remarks that when this change came, about 1730, its votaries ceased to be called deer-hunters, and were known as deer-stealers. So fierce became the affrays that the forester of the West Walk was killed in 1738, and shortly afterwards the like fate befell the forester or keeper of the Fern Ditch Walk.

Mr. Chafin died in the year of the publication of his anecdotes, aged eighty-seven. He gives vivid accounts of the affrays of the chase that had occurred in his memory, one of which it may be well to cite:—

On the night of the 16th of December, 1780, a very severe battle was fought between the keepers and deerstealers on Chettle Common, in Burleystool Walk, which was attended with very serious circumstances. A gang of these deerstealers assembled at Pimperne, and were headed by a serjeant of dragoons, a native of Pimperne, and then quartered at Blandford, and whose name was Blandford. They came in the night in disguise, armed with deadly and offensive weapons called swindgels, resembling flails to thresh corn. They attacked the keepers, who were nearly equal in number, but had no weapons but sticks and short hangers. The first blow that was struck was by the leader of the gang, which broke a kneecap of the stoutest man in the Chase, who was not only disabled from joining in the combat, but has been lame ever since. Another keeper received a blow from a swindgel, which broke three ribs, and was the cause of his death some time after. The remaining keepers closed in upon their opponents with their hangers, and one of the Dragoons' hands was severed from the arm just above the wrist, and fell on the ground; the others were also dreadfully cut and wounded and obliged to surrender. Blandford's arm was tightly bound with a list garter to prevent its bleeding, and he was carried to the Lodge, where I saw him next day, and his hand in the window. Peter Beckford, Esq., who was at that time Ranger of the Walk, came early in the morning, and brought Mr. Dansey, a very eminent surgeon, with him, who dressed the wound and administered proper remedies to the poor patients. Two young officers came also in the day to see him. As soon as he was well enough to be removed, he was committed, with his companions, to Dorchester gaol. The hand was buried in Pimperne churchyard, and, as reported, with military honours.

The prisoners were tried at the next Assizes, and condemned to be transported for seven years; but the sentences were afterwards commuted to a shorter term of imprisonment "in consideration of their great suffering from their wounds in prison." The dragoon was allowed

to retire on half-pay, and set up a game-factor's shop in London. Mr. Chafin was vastly indignant some time after by being accosted in town by this soldier, who said

> . . . That if I would deal with him he would treat me well, for he had in times past had many hares and pheasants of mine; and had the assurance to ask me if I did not think it a good breeding season for game.

In 1791, "a villainous set of deer-stealers infested the chase, particularly Rushmore Walk, and had the audacity to course and kill many deer in an enclosure close to the lodge." One night, when the keepers had reason to expect a visit from the marauders, ten of them assembled from the different lodges, and lay secretly in wait. At nightfall a sudden alarm was given by the crash of one of the sash windows on the ground floor. One of the keepers sallied forth from an outhouse, and found a man in the act of cutting a deer's throat, which he had just drawn from the window, through which it had thrust itself in endeavouring to escape from a dog. The keeper struck this man on the head with his staff just as he was rising from the ground, "and most unfortunately the man's cap (which was made of straw, after the manner of bee-pots) gave way, and the point of the staff came in contact with the temple and killed him on the spot." Whereupon a most desperate engagement ensued between the gang and the keepers, each party being ten in number. The former were armed with swindgels, and the keepers with staves and hangers. The keepers were getting the worst of it, for the swindgels proved most formidable weapons, but on the keepers retreating into a plantation near the lodge the closeness of the trees hindered the swing of the gang's weapons, whilst the foresters' short hangers had room to play and inflict severe wounds. Eventually, the ten deer-stealers were all caught, taken to Salisbury Gaol, tried, and transported for life.

The affray of 1791 made such a sensation in the district that a number of noblemen and gentlemen, including the Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of Shaftesbury, and Lord

Arundell, proprietors of lands within the limits of the chase, wrote an open letter to Lord Rivers, wherein they urged the injury to their own properties from the chase rights, but more especially the great injury to the public.

> The Chase having been for many years a nursery for and a temptation to all kinds of vice, profligacy, and immorality; whole parishes in and adjacent to it being nests of deer-stealers, bred to it by their parents; and initiating their children in it, they naturally contract habits of idleness and become pests of society. It is likewise a great harbour for smugglers, the woods being very commodious for secreting their goods, and the deer-stealers always at hand to give them assistance. These being evils which should not be committed in any civilised country, as no private property ought to exist so prejudicial to the community at large.

The committee of proprietors offered a rent-charge of £200 a year to Lord Rivers if he would abandon his chase rights; but his lordship valued his rights at £1,000 per annum, and also asked for a park at Rushmore of the annual value of £200. Thereupon the negotiations fell through, though they were several times renewed in the earlier years of the nineteenth century. It was not, however, until 1830 that all its privileges came to an end, through an Act of Parliament for its disfranchisement, by which Lord Rivers and his heirs were to receive a clear annual rent of £1,800 from the lands of proprietors within the chase. In the preamble of the Act it is stated that the number of deer then fed and preserved there was 12,000, and that the limit was 20,000. "The venison of Cranborne Chase," says Hutchins, in his *History of Dorset*, "will long be remembered for its unrivalled flavour and fine condition, and for the liberality with which it was dispensed by Lord Rivers." The buck-skins of Cranborne Chase had also a great reputation among glovers, and fetched a higher price than the skins from the more confined parks.

J. CHARLES COX, LL.D., F.S.A.

THE ARUNDELLS OF WARDOUR

THE Castles at Old and at New Wardour, which have belonged to the Arundells for over three hundred and fifty years, lie on the road from Salisbury to Shaftesbury, within three miles of Tisbury station.

The Manor of Wardour was held at Domesday by Waleran, Venator; but we have no record of who were his immediate successors. All we know is that Sir Walter Waleran, who, according to Dugdale, married Isabella, granddaughter to William Longespée, Earl of Salisbury, and died in 1200, held the estate as one of his knight's fees. His youngest daughter Isabella married William de Neville, and apparently succeeded to the manor; at any rate, her daughter and heiress Joan, who married Jordan de St. Martin and died in 1262, was seized of the Manor of Wardour. Her son, William de St. Martin, succeeded her, and died 19 Edward I. His son Reginald, his grandson Lawrence, and his great-grandson Lawrence, who was Knight of the Shire for the county of Wilts. in the thirty-fourth year of Edward III., and died 1395, all held the manor of Wardour in their turn. The latter on his death left his sisters Joan, the wife of John Coldten of Littlecoats, and Sybil, the wife of Sir John Popham, Knight, his co-heirs; but Wardour very shortly afterwards passed into the hands of John, Lord Lovel, of Tichmersh, who in 1392 obtained leave from King Richard II. to build what is now known as the Old Castle at Wardour. The original authority is to be found at the Record Office, part 3, memb. 17:—

Quod Johannes Dominus de Lovell possit castrum facere apud manurium suum de Werdour.

De Castro faciendo: Rex omnibus ad quod, &c., salutem: Sciatis quod de gratia nostra speciali concessimus et licentiam dedimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris quantum in nobis est dilecto et fideli nostri Johanne Domino de Lovell quod ipse quoddam manurium de Werdour in Comitate Wiltes cum muris de petra et calce includere, firmare kernellare et batellare et castrum inde facere ac castrum illud sic factum tenere possit sibi et heredibus suis in perpetuum absque perturbatione vel impeditione nostri vel heredum seu ministrorum nostrorum quorumcunque. In cujus, &c., testi Rege apud Westmonast, xxvii. de Feb. Per breve de privato sigillo.

The chief characteristics of the castle as it stood in Lord Lovell's day still remain. Nothing can take away from the magnificence of its situation, surrounded as it is by the "amphitheatrical hill" which rises above it on two sides, enabling the castle to dominate the whole valley underneath. Its grand entrance is approached by a walk most appropriately called "the Terrace." The ground plan consists of a square and a hexagon joined on to one another. Most of the outer wall of the hexagon crumbled to the ground in the days of Oliver Cromwell, but enough remains to enable us to form some idea of the whole, with the well in the inner courtyard which helped to supply the needs of the garrison in case of siege. The quadrangle is flanked at each of its four corners by massive square towers, whilst its entrance enjoys the peculiarity of a double portcullis. Above the doorway in the east front may be seen the large windows of what was once the great banqueting hall; but most of their superb tracery has succumbed to the ravages of time. Over the entrance, which bears conspicuous traces of Renaissance restoration, is a niche containing a head of our Saviour,

SUB NUMINE TUO
STET GENUS ET DOMUS.

"Under thy protection may our race and house stand." Beneath these words is a tablet carved with the family arms together with a Latin inscription that refers to the

Wardour Castle—Ruins.

trial and execution in 1552 of Sir Thomas Arundell, the son of Sir John Arundell of Lanherne, and the first of his race to own Wardour Castle. These ruins are now surrounded by a beautiful green sward, on which rise fine cedars of Lebanon and cypresses, and are one of the most popular centres for tourists and picnic parties in the neighbourhood of Salisbury.

John, Lord Lovell of Tichmersh, married Maud, daughter and heiress of Robert, Lord Holland, and died in 1414. His son William, Lord Lovell and Holland, married Adela, the daughter of Sir John Deincourt, and died in 1424, leaving issue John, Lord Lovell and Holland, a staunch Lancastrian, who forfeited his estates on the accession of King Edward IV. A patent dated 2 May 1 Edward IV. may still be seen, which grants to John Touchet, Lord Audley, all the Stewardships of all the King's Manors and Lordships in the County of Dorset; likewise the office of Warden of all his forests, as well as the Castle of Wardour and Parks thereunto belonging in the county of Wilts. On his death in 1491 the Castle would seem to have passed from his family, as in 1495 it was in the possession of Thomas Butler, Earl of Ormond, who on November 23rd, 1499, sold Wardour Castle to Robert Willoughby, Lord Brooke, by a charter still preserved in the muniment room. On October 11th, 22 Henry VIII., Elizabeth, wife of Fulke Greville and granddaughter of Robert Willoughby, Lord Brooke, and her husband sold the castle and lands to Sir John Arundell, of Lanherne, in Cornwall, who presented it to his second son, Sir Thomas Arundell, the husband of Margaret, sister of Catherine Howard, the fifth wife of King Henry VIII., whose family trace their descent from most of the preceding owners of Wardour Castle. Thus Sir Robert de Fitzpaine married Aubrey de Waleran, the daughter of Walter Waleran, Lord of Duene, who at his death held the Manor of Wardour in demesne. His granddaughter Isabella married Sir John de Chideoc, whose

great-granddaughter Catherine married Sir John Arundell of Lanherne. Then John, Lord Lovell's, daughter married John Dinham, Lord of Hartland, who died 36 Henry VI., whose granddaughter Catherine married Sir Thomas Arundell, of Lanherne, whilst the first Lord Arundell of Wardour was the son of Margaret Willoughby, the daughter of Sir Henry Willoughby, of Wollaton, who in his turn was the son of Robert Willoughby Lord Brooke, who purchased Wardour Castle in 1499.

Many accounts have been given of the descent of the Arundells of Lanherne and of Wardour. It has not yet been traced directly back to Roger de Arundell, who at Domesday was found possessed of twenty-eight lordships in Somerset and Wilts.; but the deeds in the muniment room at Wardour Castle absolutely prove the genealogy up to Ralf Arundel, Lord of Treloy, who was Sheriff of Cornwall in 1260, and died in October, 1275, the son of Renfred or Unfred de Arundel, as is established by the grant from Laurence fil R . . . . di to Ralf, son of Renfred de Harundel, of the whole town of Treloy (whose manorial rights still belong to the family), except the towns of Trehernet, Trederesuc Hendre and land held by Hillebrand, upon Inspeximus of the Charter of William de Harundel granting the same to Renfred de Harundel. Previous to this we are landed in mere conjecture, but Mr. Pym Yeatman, in his *History of the House of Arundel*, has argued with much show of reason that this Renfred was the younger son of William Albini, second Earl of Arundel, and the grandson of William Arundel, first Earl of Arundel, who married in 1136 Adeliza, the widow of Stephen, King of England. Ralf Arundel of Treloy's son Renfred married Alice, daughter of John de La Herne, of Lanherne, in Cornwall. It was through this marriage that the Arundells became possessed of Lanherne, which remained the property of the senior branch of the family until the death of Sir John Arundell, fifteenth Lord of Lanherne. His daughter Frances married Sir Richard

Bellings, Knight, whose granddaughter Mary, the eventual sole heiress of Lanherne, married Henry, seventh Lord Arundell, of Wardour, on January 27th, 1738. Lanherne thus reverted to the Arundells, to whom it still belongs, the last remnant of their vast possessions in Cornwall.

Sir Thomas Arundell, of Wardour, was a very prominent member of the Catholic party under Edward VI. According to Sanders' *Anglican Schism*, 1585, the Catholic Party, having been thrown over by Dudley, apparently deputed Sir Thomas Arundell to carry on a negotiation with Somerset. "Therefore Sir Thomas Arundell, a man of influence and a Catholic, secretly visited the Protector, but Dudley, on discovering the fact, had him not long after brought to the block, Sir Thomas dying in the peace of the Church" (p. 190). Bayley, in his *History of the Tower*, Vol. II., p. 417, says:—

> Sir Thomas Arundel, who was greatly pitied, was brought to his trial on the 29th January, 1552, but it was with great difficulty that the ruling party could get a verdict against him; nor was it till the Jury had been locked up for part of that day and all the following night that they would agree, and that those who thought him innocent are said to have yielded for fear of their own lives.

This execution has been commemorated in the following lines, which stand over the porch of the old castle:—

> Gentis Arundelliæ Lanherniæ proles junior hoc messuit primo
> sedere loco.
> Ut sedit cecidit, sine crimine plectitur ille
> Insons insontem fata secunda probant
> Nam quæ Patris erant Matthæus filius emit
> Empta auxit studio principis aucta manent
> Comprecor aucta diu manent augenda per ævum
> Hoc dedit, eripuit, restituitque Deus.

Which lines have been translated:—

> Sprung from the Arundel Lanhernian race
> Thomas, a worthy branch possessed this place.
> Possessing fell! Him guiltless Heaven removed,
> And by his son's success him guiltless proved;
> By royal grace restored to these domains,
> Matthew, his heir, increased them and retains;
> Through ages may they yet enlarged descend,
> And God the gift resumed, renewed, defend.

An allusion to the recovery by Sir Matthew Arundell of his father's possessions, to which he was restored on July 2nd, 1 Mary, and to the numerous additions which were made by him to these estates during the reigns of Philip and Mary, and of Elizabeth. He married, 1559, Margaret, daughter of Sir Henry Willoughby, and died on December 24th, 1599. His son, Sir Thomas Arundell, entered the service of Rudolph II., Emperor of Germany, on the introduction of Queen Elizabeth, who described him in her letter as "her dearest cousin." When Gran was being besieged by the Imperial forces, Sir Thomas Arundell captured the enemy's banner and placed himself in the forefront of the army. He also, at the assault on the breach of the water town of Strigonium and in other skirmishes and battles, so conducted himself as to be recommended by his superior officers to the Emperor as a man of extraordinary merit, so much so, that in visiting Prague he found the Court and city full of applause of his behaviour. For these reasons the Emperor on December 14th, 1595, raised him "and all your children, heirs and legitimate descendants of both sexes already born or that hereafter shall be True Counts and Countesses of the Sacred Roman Empire." This honour was not, however, quite agreeable to the English Queen, who, when asked for her views upon the subject, said: "There was a close tie between the Prince and his subjects, and that—as chaste wives should have no glances but for their own spouses—so should faithful subjects keep their eyes at home and not gaze upon foreign crowns. That she for her part did not care her sheep should bear a stranger's mark nor dance after the whistle of every foreigner." Such was the Queen's indignation that she threw Sir Thomas Arundell into prison and refused in any shape or form to recognize the title granted to him by the Emperor. James I. followed his predecessor's example in refusing to recognize this title, but acknowledged his worth in other respects by creating him Lord Arundell of Wardour, the

title which is now borne by the present peer, the twelfth Lord Arundell of Wardour. James II., however, on March 20th, 1686, in giving a large number of Catholic peers and gentry a license to attend Court and to travel, from which privileges strict adherents of the Catholic religion were then debarred, describes Henry, third Lord Arundell of Wardour, as a Count of the Empire.

The most important event in the history of Wardour Castle is its siege by a detachment of the Parliamentary Army, thirteen hundred strong, under Sir Edward Hungerford, in 1643. Thomas, the second Lord Arundell, a loyal supporter of Charles I., was then away from home on the King's service, having raised and equipped at his own expense a regiment of horse which he led into action against the forces of the Parliament. Prior to his departure from home he had asked his wife to promise that, should his castle be besieged, she would defend it to the last extremity. Lady Blanche Arundell was the sixth daughter of Edward Somerset, fourth Earl of Worcester, by his marriage with Elizabeth, daughter of Francis Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon, and granddaughter of Margaret Plantagenet, Countess of Salisbury. She was then sixty-one years of age, and yet she resolved to defend the Castle with a garrison of only twenty-five trained fighting men, besides the ordinary domestics and members of her household. On May 2nd she received the news that Sir Edward Hungerford was at her doors, and that he demanded admittance in the name of Parliament in order to search for Cavaliers and malignants. When this demand was refused, Sir Edward Hungerford sent for Colonel Strode and some troops under his command, thus raising the numbers of the besieging force to 1,300 men. He then again demanded admittance, but was informed by Lady Blanche Arundell that she had a command from her lord to keep the castle, and would obey that command. Sir Edward then turned his guns upon its walls, and was able, thanks to the rising ground which commanded the castle

on three sides, to hurl his missiles with fatal effect upon its walls. There were only fifty males who were able to take part in the defence, though they were assisted by the maid servants, who steadily loaded their muskets. Over and over again Sir Edward proffered terms of surrender, but Lady Blanche refused to accept them as they promised quarter to the ladies alone, and not to the men under arms. The enemy then attempted to demolish the Castle by the springing of mines. Little damage was done by the first of these, which was outside the walls, but the second one, which exploded inside one of the smaller vaults, greatly shook the buildings, which it threatened with complete destruction. It was only, however, when petards were applied to the doors, and fireballs were thrown in at the windows, that Lady Blanche agreed to a surrender on condition of obtaining quarter for all that were within the castle. These terms, of which the original copy is preserved by Lord Arundell of Wardour, were as follows:—

Wardour Castle the 8th of May 1643.

Whereas the Lady Blanche Arundell after five days siege offered to surrender to us the Castle of Wardour, upon disposition and hath given us her word to surrender it, these are therefore to assure her ladyship of these conditions following:—That the said Castle and whatsoever is within it shall be surrendered forthwith. That the said Lady Blanche with all the gentlewomen and other women servants shall have their lives and all fitting respect due to persons of their sex and quality; and be safely conveyed unto Bath if her ladyship likes not to Bristol; there to remain till we have given account to the Parliament of her work. That all men within the Castle shall come forth and yield themselves prisoners unto us who shall all have their lives excepting such as have merited otherwise by the laws of the kingdom before their coming to this place and such as shall refuse or neglect to come forth unto us. That there shall be care taken that the said Lady Blanche shall have all things fitting for a person of her quality, both for her journey and for her abiding until the Parliament give further order; and the like for the other gentlewomen who shall have their wearing apparel. That there shall be a true inventory taken of all the goods which shall be put in safe custody until the further pleasure of Parliament be signified therein. That her ladyship, the gentlewomen and servants aforesaid, shall be protected by us according to her ladyship's desires.

(Signed) EDWARD HUNGERFORD.
W. STRODE.

These terms were not strictly observed by the Parliamentary leaders. The castle was plundered of many of its valuables, and pictures were destroyed, though they had undertaken that a true inventory was to be taken of all the goods, which were to be put into safe custody. The whole place was laid waste for miles around, the park palings torn up, the lodges and entrances burnt, and all the outbuildings levelled to the ground. The wearing apparel of the ladies was seized. They were themselves sent as prisoners to Shaftesbury, where they saw several cartloads of the spoils of Wardour driven through the streets of the town on their way to Dorchester. The three young children of Lord Arundell's son and heir, with their mother, Cicely, daughter of Sir Henry Compton, of Brambletye House, who were at Wardour during the siege, were also removed to Shaftesbury, whence they were taken to Bath, where the plague was raging. They were then separated from their mother and despatched under a strong guard to Dorchester.

Wardour Castle was immediately garrisoned for the Parliament and placed under the command of Colonel Edward Ludlow. In the meanwhile, Lord Arundell died at Oxford of wounds received at the battle of Lansdowne. Ludlow's triumph was of brief duration. Henry, the third Lord Arundell, appeared before the castle and summoned Ludlow to deliver up the place to him for "His Majesty's use." This summons was ineffectual at the moment, so he withdrew for a time, joined forces with Sir Francis Donington, marched into Wiltshire, and sat down before Wardour determined to take it either by siege or blockade. The resistance was so stubborn that he eventually determined to blow up the towers and walls of his own castle rather than leave them in the hands of his enemy. In the middle of March, 1644, he sprung a mine, which so shattered the walls and western towers, and so damaged the stores of corn and other provisions, that the garrison found themselves reduced to only four days' rations.

Ludlow was then forced to capitulate, but the castle was rendered so uninhabitable by all these disasters, that the family were compelled to seek refuge in such portions of the adjoining building as could be made available. They resided there and at Breamore in Hampshire for a hundred and thirty years. They then removed to the new castle, which has been their home since then.

On Lady Blanche Arundell's release from captivity she retired to Winchester, where she lived in seclusion, leading a life of piety and charity until her death in October, 1649. Her son, Henry, third Lord Arundell, was one of those persons who were committed to prison in 1678 upon the information of the infamous Titus Oates. He remained there for five years, until his innocence was absolutely and completely established. After his release in 1685 he was sworn a member of the Privy Council, raised to the dignity of Lord Privy Seal in 1686, and made a Knight of the Bath. On the abdication of James II. he retired to Breamore, where he kept a celebrated pack of hounds, which long afterwards became the property of Lord Castlehaven. They were ultimately sold to Hugo Meynell, and were the progenitors of the famous Quorn pack. Lord Arundell died on November 26th, 1694. His son, the fourth Lord Arundell of Wardour, married Margaret, daughter of Thomas Spencer, of Upton, and died in 1712. The fifth Lord Arundell of Wardour married Elizabeth, daughter of Colonel Thomas Panton, and died in 1726. Henry, the sixth Lord Arundell of Wardour, married, first, Eleanor, daughter of Baron Everard, the Austrian representative of the Everards of Randlestown, Co. Meath, and, secondly, Anne, daughter of William, Marquis of Powis. He died April 20th, 1766, leaving, with other issue, Henry, the seventh Lord, who married the heiress of Lanherne, and thus became the representative of both branches of this illustrious family.

The eighth Lord Arundell of Wardour, who succeeded his father on his death on September 12th, 1756, com-

menced to build New Wardour Castle in 1770 a mile from the ruins of the old castle, on an Italian model after Payne's design. It consists of a square centre with two wings which are connected by a curvilinear corridor, whilst a rusticated basement runs round the whole. The south front, which was originally meant to be the entrance to the castle, is much richer in its design than the north front, which faces the drive. It is faced by six three-quarter fluted Corinthian columns, which support the entablature and the pediment. The outer columns are coupled, their plinths nearly touching one another. Niches for statues fill the intervening spaces, while the centre is occupied by a large semi-circular window. The north front consists of four rows of nine windows each, those of the mezzanine and attics being far smaller than those of the first story. A pediment projects one foot forward in the centre, and thus relieves the uniform plainness of the whole. The general effect of the whole, which is built of white calcareous stone found on the spot, is truly magnificent, and this is still further enhanced by the fine view which the south front commands of the valley of the Nadder, of the old castle, and of the well-wooded amphitheatre beyond.

The north entrance admits into a vestibule, which leads into a circular hall, whose great double staircase is one of the finest architectural features of the place. A double flight of steps lead to the corridor round the top of the staircase, whilst fluted Corinthian columns support the cupola, which dominates the whole structure. This circular corridor, which is 144 feet in circumference, leads through plain mahogany double doors placed in the deep recesses of the walls into a connecting suite of ten principal apartments furnished with a large collection of pictures and works of art. It would be impossible to cite all these by name. Suffice it to say that they include portraits of the first Lord, of Lady Elizabeth Thimelby and Lady Harriet Sheldon, by Sir Peter Lely; of Dorothy, the wife of the third Lord Arundell, and of her sister, by Sir Peter

Lely; of Richard Bellings Arundell of Lanherne, and of his wife, by Sir Godfrey Kneller; of the seventh and eighth Lords Arundell and their wives, by Sir Joshua Reynolds, and a copy by Angelica Kauffmann of a destroyed portrait of Blanche, Lady Arundell. In addition to these we find "The Meeting of Tobit and his Son," the largest known picture by Gerard Douw; "The Descent from the Cross," by Ribera, called Il Spagnoletto; portraits of Pope Benedict XIV., by Battoni; of Albert, Duke of Saxony, of an old woman looking at a ring, and of Hugo Grotius, by Rubens; and of St. Francis of Assisi, by Correggio. There are also several paintings of Vernet, Lucas van Uden, Gaspar and Nicholas Poussin, Guido, Andrea del Sarto, Salvator Rosa, and Titian. In the right wing is the chapel, with its Corinthian pilasters and fine high altar.

The eighth Lord Arundell was succeeded by his nephew, James Everard, in 1808, who married, first, Mary Christina, the daughter of the eighth Lord, and, secondly, Mary, daughter of R. B. Jones, Esq. Of his sons, the tenth Lord married Mary, daughter of the second Duke of Buckingham and Chandos, and the eleventh Lord married, first, Lucy daughter and heiress of Hugo Smyth, of Acton Burnell, and, secondly, Frances Catherine, daughter of Sir Henry Tichborne, Bart., by whom he had issue the twelfth and present Lord Arundell of Wardour, who married Lucy Ann, daughter of John Errington, of High Warden, Northumberland, and the Hon and Rev. Everard Arundell. The eleventh Lord Arundell's third wife was Teresa, daughter of Lord Stourton.

V. HUSSEY WALSH.

SALISBURY POLITICS IN THE REIGN OF QUEEN ANNE

IT is not always realised that Gilbert Burnet the historian, the "Whig" Bishop of Salisbury, proved a very exemplary prelate; but it is a common-place that he was an extremely energetic politician. During the first sixteen years of his episcopate, however, he wisely abstained from interference in local contests; which, just after the Revolution, were conducted with peculiar asperity. During that period, therefore, his relations with the town of Salisbury remained perfectly amicable; and it was not until the summer of the year 1705 that the state of affairs was altered through a breach of this salutary rule.

At that date—a year after the Battle of Blenheim—a moderate Tory War Ministry was in power, but dependent on the loyal support afforded it by the Whigs. It was opposed by a furious host of High Tory malcontents; who, with the avowed object of embarrassing the Ministry, would have "tacked" to the Bill of Supply a measure peculiarly obnoxious to the Whigs. The famous Bill against Occasional Conformity had, in fact, been virtually rejected, during a previous session, by the House of Lords, then predominantly Whig. It aimed at preventing the Dissenters (who usually voted with the Whig party) from evading the Sacramental Test, which should have excluded them from political life. By appending the provisions of this Bill, in the form of additional clauses, to the Bill of Supply, the Extreme Tories would

have forced the Upper House (which is constitutionally barred from amending a Money Bill) into a very invidious dilemma. It must have either rejected the Bill of Supply, and thus paralyzed, in the middle of an exhausting war, the finances of the country; or have endorsed, at the point of the financial bayonet, a policy to which it was opposed. These discreditable tactics were, however, defeated by the Ministerialists in the Lower House; and the discomfited "Mutineers" reaped as their sole reward the anger of an exasperated Administration and a justly incensed Queen.

Among these "tackers" ranked Mr. Charles Fox, "Citizen" or borough member for New Sarum, and Paymaster of the Forces in Ireland. A half-brother of the first Lord Holland, and uncle by the half-blood of the famous "Charles James," Mr. Fox was affianced to one of the Ladies Hyde, first cousin, through her mother, of Queen Anne. But that august lady, entertaining, as she did, "the greatest displeasure" against the men who had "tacked" the Bill, made no exception in favour of Mr. Fox, and showed her resentment on the eve of the General Election. As Bishop Burnet says in his autobiography:—

> She herself spoke to me with relations [*sic*] to the Elections; she said we saw she trusted to us; and in particular she spoke severely of Mr. Fox. . . . This made me set my whole strength to keep him out; for I, being Lord of the whole town, and having laid many obligations on the body in general, and on most of the electors, I thought I might for once recommend one to them."

The candidate he supported seems to have borne the name of Harris.

Such interference (as the Bishop himself admits) "raised a most violent storm" against him on the part of the Extreme Tories; who, he rather invidiously suggests, had, "by many very bad practices," secured "a majority in the corporation."

Disorders ensued, which are amusingly described by

the celebrated Daniel Defoe, then travelling through England *incognito* (as an agent of the Moderate Tories) on a mission of political conciliation. In Dorsetshire he had found his pacific exhortations superfluous.

> The Dissenters are . . . easy, and do not struggle, having met with no ill-treatment to move them, and particularly the inferior clergy are the most temperate here of any place I know, a certain proof that the different temper of other counties is owing (at least much of it) to their inflaming the gentry. At Salisbury, 'tis quite another thing; the Bishop's candidate for the town, Mr. Harris, lost it.

Nor was this all. One Colonel Chivers, "that scandal to all good manners . . . the profoundest rake and bully in the country," had been threatened by the Bishop of Salisbury with an action for slander, on account of certain "impudent scandalous lies" against the Bishop's private character. This worthy was now nominated for the county constituency "on purpose to screen him from the Bishop."

The ensuing Poll seems to have been a scene of great disorder. The Bishop's friends, says Defoe, were ill-treated by the clergy. His "gentlemen" and the Dukes of Somerset and Bolton received "strange insults"; and the Bishop himself (with his steward) was "rustled" (*sic*) by the parsons.

The undesirable Chivers eventually lost the day. The Bishop, thereupon, declined to withdraw his action; and it was finally compromised on the basis of an apology from the Colonel and the payment of £50, which the Bishop, with his usual generosity, devoted to the poor.

Meanwhile the good prelate ruefully recognized the extent of his initial error, occasioned (as he consolingly reminds himself) "by my too forward zeal to serve and please the Queen. Things of that sort," he moralizes, "draw very bad consequences after them. This has raised an anger against me which will follow me as long as I live." In this he prophesied but too truly.

Matters, meanwhile, were by no means improved when,

a few weeks later, the death of the Dean of Sarum brought a certain Dr. Younger, the Member's former tutor, to the fore; armed with a ministerial promise of the first vacant Deanery. His appearance in the field must have been indecently early; since within twelve hours of the Dean's death his Diocesan despatched by express to London a pathetic remonstrance against the proposed appointment. It was addressed to Lord Treasurer Godolphin:—

This Deanery has a great episcopal jurisdiction so intermixed with the Bishop's that there will arise endless contests from a man that may be under a bad management. I know Dr. Y [ounger] is a quiet good-natured man, but I know what his bias [is], and what power his wife and others have over him . . . so that I must look for little quiet if he must be the man . . . There is a greater heat than . . . can [be] well imagine [d] in this country since our last election. Perhaps stories have been carried to Court as if I had made use of the Queen's name, which I affirm to you is false. All I said that looked that way was in excuse for my recommending now when I had not done it these 16 years past, that the Queen looked on a good choice of this Parliament as that upon which the quiet of her life and reign and the happiness of her people depended, since probably a peace would be made within its period. It is said that both before the election and since Dr. Y [ounger] has served Mr. Fox's interests and has assured his party that the Queen is well pleased with their election, etc., etc.

His pleadings, however, proved vain, and Dr. Younger received the Deanery. Rumour, even to-day, has an unkind habit of insinuating that the extra-episcopal jurisdiction of Deans does not conduce to harmony in exalted ecclesiastical circles. Certain it is that, in the case actually before us, the two opposing dignitaries wrangled with unedifying fervour; especially over the appointment to vacant canonries.

This, however, is by the way. Time passed, and the Moderate-Tory War Administration, by a process of more or less gradual transmutation, became at last definitely Whig; its Tory members coalescing with the Whig phalanx, or seceding into opposition. The arrogance of the Whig leaders, and the growing burden of the great war, eventually excited a violent reaction. This found vent

on the occasion of a foolish and virulent Philippic against the ministry, delivered by the notorious Dr. Sacheverel, a High Tory parson, from the pulpit of St. Paul's Cathedral. His impeachment at the behest of the Administration (a step which, to do him justice, Bishop Burnet did not encourage) proved an act of extreme folly. The preacher became the idol of a party. His feminine partizans were peculiarly enthusiastic, and Addison (slyly substituting for the name of Sacheverel that of a former idol of the Whigs) gives us, in his *Spectator*, a most amusing account of their infatuation:—

> I remember when [the] Doctor . . . was in all his glory, I accompanied [a] friend in a visit to a lady of his acquaintance. We were no sooner sat down, but upon casting my eyes about the room, I found in almost every corner of it a print that represented the doctor in all his magnitudes and dimensions. A little after, as the lady was discoursing my friend, and held her snuff-box in her hand, who should I see on the lid of it but the doctor. It was not long after this when she had occasion for her handkerchief, which upon the first opening discovered among the plaits the figure of the doctor. . . . In a word, I found that the doctor had taken possession of her thoughts, her discourse, and most of her furniture.

Meanwhile the populace, which, disgusted with the length of the war, had become passionately Tory, showed its sympathies in a manner less puerile and more alarming. Riots marked the course of the trial. Meeting houses in the vicinity of Bishop Burnet's house at Clerkenwell were attacked and demolished; a man was actually killed on the episcopal doorstep. The termination of the proceedings, which resulted in a virtual acquittal, was hailed with tumultuous rejoicing, not only in London, but throughout the length and breadth of the country. Something of the sort, the extent of which we cannot define, took place in the streets of Salisbury. The bells certainly rang; but some maintained this was only in honour of the "Plate," *i.e.*, the local race-meeting. A bonfire was certainly lit; but its size, as we shall see, became the subject of violent controversy.

Meanwhile, the staider elements of the Opposition hastened to procure from every available source, addresses congratulating the Queen on this decisive blow to the stability of the existing Ministry. Among these addressing bodies we find the Salisbury municipality.

Almost immediately after these events—that is, early in May, 1710—Bishop Burnet returned to his See. The Corporation at once waited on him, and met with an amicable reception; "His countenance," sneers an opponent, "smiling as the wine, his words smoother than oil." Soon, however, a transformation took place. News of the bonfires and the address reached his horrified Lordship. Fresh from his London experience, the Bishop no doubt inclined to exaggerate the import of a little disorderly triumph; while, on the other hand, we can hardly accept the modest estimate of his opponents: "A few boys, it seems, had in the streets raked up some straw, had got a few faggots, and stood round their bonfire; an idle fellow or two, that had as much wit as they, bestowed, forsooth, a little drink upon the frolic." However this may be, his Lordship's spleen was raised, and in his own Cathedral, on the Sunday following, he seized the opportunity of preaching *at* the city fathers. This sermon was never printed; but his opponents maintain that he charged the local notabilities with "Tumults! Riots! Mobs! being headed by Papists! expecting and just ready to receive the Pretender and his friends the French"; with "longing for the times of Popery again and returning to our wallowing in that mire." The city address, which would seem to have been couched in terms of somewhat servile adulation, received censure equally severe. "He tells us," exclaims an indignant advocate for the Council, "that in our professions of loyalty and obedience to the Queen and State we are turned rebels to God." The Corporation, exasperated by this unbecoming onslaught, retorted on the following Thursday in a manner at least equally offensive; while the Bishop

ascended the pulpit of St. Thomas' Church to preach the weekly "lecture," the municipality, in a body, rose and left the church.

The news of this unseemly wrangle spread far and wide, and the squabble was regarded as of serious political import. It formed a topic of discussion in the London "news-letters"—the manuscript journals of the day—and was even noticed by the Paris *Gazette*. An acrimonious pamphlet war ensued, of which only two items have been seen by the present writer.

Both of these are on the side of the Salisbury burghers. The first was originally intended as an appeal to the Bishop himself, and was published when questions arose concerning the identity of the sermon which had occasioned so much turmoil. It is dated June 17th, and takes the form of an answer by a "Citizen of New Sarum" to a letter of enquiry from a "Gentleman in London." This pamphlet seems to have urged into the fray John Hoadley, the Bishop's Chaplain, brother to the more famous Benjamin; and a heated altercation followed, of which we now only possess the final retort, *i.e.*, "The Salisbury Quarrel ended; or the last letter of the Citizen of New Sarum," dated November 25th, 1710.[1] A large proportion of these quaint productions consists of elaborate arguments on passive obedience and non-resistance—the ostensible rather than the real bone of contention during the Sacheverel episode. But we find here and there some amusing personal touches. Our friend the citizen, for instance, writes as follows:—

> To be free with his Lordship's foible, it is this, the many malicious whispers, unfair representations, and some times downright false stories so often brought to his too open ears, seem to me as too many impositions on his lordship's credulity from crafty and designing men, who to engross his favours to themselves by this practice, not only rob many others of a share they would perhaps enjoy in it, but also to the infinite disadvantage of his lordship's honour and name, such ill-grounded prejudices and

1 From a copy courteously lent to the writer by the late Dr. Garnett.

wrong opinions of men and things are hereby begotten sometimes in the mind, that the judgment thus getting at first a wrong bias, can hardly be brought to run right any more. . . . Would he but cease his too much distinguishing methods of using us, would he look on us (who would be all willing to hear his voice) as one flock, and not upon all occasions divide us like sheep from the goats, despise and frown on one, treat, caress, and fawn on another, there would not be that strangeness among ourselves, nor those resentments against him whom we take to be the author of this—

presumably Mr. John Hoadley.

The details of the dispute call forth amusing comment:—

What! must we have more yet of the ungrateful noise, more jambling still on these troublesome bells? Could they ring (by custom) for the plate, as you yourself say, and as everyone knows they did . . . and yet . . . that [be] only the excuse, and the business of the doctor, the true reason?

As regards the much-debated

bonfire in the Cheese Market . . . 'tis denied that there was any such bonfire as you represent. It is denied that anybody was insulted, abused, threatened, knocked down, etc., by or near it as far as we can find.

The reported Papist leaders are reduced to "a poor old fellow's sitting at a great distance off, smoking a pipe among his neighbours in sight of this bonfire." Then follow heated arguments as to the Bishop's status with regard to the town, and whether a formal visit is "an absolute due, to the payment of which they stand obliged, as he is lord of the town, etc. . . . a piece of vassalage they knew nothing of"; as to whether the Bishop did or did not attempt to mislead the world by publishing during the quarrel a sermon on the topic at issue, which was not the one actually in question, and as to the reason for the Bishop's withdrawing a subscription of ten pounds from the municipal workhouse. Nor are the pamphlets unadorned with those flowers of abusive rhetoric without which it seems to have been almost impossible, at the period of which we treat, to conduct a

political controversy. The *Answerer* credits Mr. Hoadley with "foul and false charges"; but as Mr. Hoadley had already attributed to his opponent "sad false English," "pitiful mean aiming at wit," and "unchristian ribaldry," they could certainly cry quits.

How bitterly the whole episode affected the Bishop is seen in the brief autobiography, which he concluded five days after the date of the second of these tracts. This little sketch, ostensibly confined to "the most material passages of my life," terminates with explanations, already quoted, concerning the origin of the dissensions between himself and the city of Sarum, and conveys his painful sense of their result. And when, a year later, he drew up a will, of which the items in general are singularly just and generous, the alienation which this series of events had excited in his mind was reflected in the modest proportion of his bequests to the town of Salisbury. The controversy in question reflects no credit on anyone concerned. But the story casts a curious light on election politics of the early eighteenth century.

H. C. FOXCROFT.

WILLIAM BECKFORD, OF FONTHILL

> The Palace termed "The Delight of the Eyes" was one entire enchantment.—*Vathek*.

WILLIAM BECKFORD is an example of the advantage of an atmosphere of legend and the absence of a critical biography. For, apart from his atmosphere, what has he done to be so well remembered? The creation of his extravagance, only too literally the "*baseless* fabric" of a vision, left no trace behind it, and is hence of no more interest to us to-day than Nonesuch, another "Palace of Delight." His *Vathek*, written in a style as transparent as it is inconspicuous, light, and flippant, at once "very French and very English, very Oriental and very European, very frivolous and very tragic, very shallow and very profound," is not a book of an important *genre*, though interesting as a transitional work. Yet to such an extent has Beckford's legend stimulated the vitality of his books, and his books extended his legend, that there are few names that have so successfully weathered the century.

William Beckford's father (also a William) had some personal characteristics that foreshadow *Vathek*. Of a rich West Indian family—Jamaica being in those days a golden island, as rich as it is now poor—he reconciled many characters in himself which "seemed almost incompatible." He was a planter, Member of Parliament, Magistrate, and Alderman; *yet* he was a man of excellent taste, and a country gentleman; nor, Beckford's biographer adds, apparently without malice, "was he without finding time

for moderate dissipation." He was an active, independent, public-spirited man, and died[1] from travelling from Fonthill to London to discharge his official duties when suffering from a cold, which ended fatally.

He had a fine collection of paintings at the house he built at Fonthill—"Fonthill Splendens," as it has been called; and the entertainments and banquets he gave as Lord Mayor outdid anything that had been seen in the city before from the time of Henry VIII., though personally, like his son, he lived with a temperance "somewhat out of place in city epicurism."

The Fonthill estate, as Fuller said of Berkshire property, seems to have had the knack of "throwing its riders," while the fate of the houses built on the property is singularly disastrous. The mansion built by the Mervyns was burnt; a second, built by the Cottingtons in 1650, which the elder Beckford bought, was also burnt;[2] while Old Fonthill House, that the elder Beckford built, was pulled down by his son, and sold for £9,000. The stone for the latter came from a quarry on the estate, afterwards partially filled up and thickly planted with firs to conceal the gap from being seen from the windows of the house. The house stood close to the edge of a broad lake at the foot of the hill; the hall was one of the largest in England,[3] "lofty and loud echoing," according to the younger Beckford, with numerous doors leading from it into different parts of the building through dim long

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1 June 21st, 1770. Walpole, writing of a visit to Stowe, July, 1770, says: "The papers make one sick with talking of that noisy vapouring fool as they would of Algernon Sidney."—*Letters*, vol. v., p. 248.

2 On this occasion (1755) the fire did damage to the extent of £30,000. When he was informed of the loss, he calmly replied, "Well, we must build it up again."

3 "The whole was composed of white freestone, . . . and consisted of a body or centre, with two uniform square wings attached to it by light elliptical Doric colonnades. In front was a superb portico of the Corinthian order, ascended by a noble flight of steps. The basement story, which was rusticated to the height of thirteen feet, contained an arched Egyptian hall, 85 ft. 10 in. in length and 38 ft. 6 in. in breadth, supported by immense piers of solid stone."—*Britton.*

winding passages;[1] and it was from this scene, lit for three consecutive days and nights by the glow lamps and fires, that he formed his imaginary Hall of Eblis; while a room, called the Turkish,[2] in which all was imitated from the East, was not without its effect on his oriental imagination. A sole surviving wing of the elder Beckford's mansion is the nucleus of Mrs. Alfred Morrison's.

It was at "Fonthill Splendens" that William Beckford the younger was born, October, 1759,[3] and christened "early" in the following year, his godfather being the great commoner, Pitt. His character seems to have been always formed, and his curious letters to his agent Clark, dating from 1830-4, show him as naïvely egoistic, petulant, trivial, and terrible at seventy, just as much "compounded of the elements of air and fire," in his godfather's phrase, as he was as a boy. He was carefully educated (and exercised) by a tutor; his morning's work, prefaced by a half-hour's ride at seven in the morning in the park or in the woods and plantations, lasted until one o'clock, and was followed by more horse exercise on the Wiltshire Downs. It is characteristic of Beckford's later tastes that it was necessary to check him from poring over books of heraldry, of which he grew "mischievously fond," and from overmuch study of the *Arabian Nights;* indeed, it was contrived at Fonthill to remove the book when his back was turned. In his seventeenth year he left England for Geneva, but returned before the close of 1778, and was sent on the grand tour in 1780.

1 "The scenes which preceded and followed the magnificent celebration of my one-and-twentieth birthday—the Egyptian halls and vaulted chambers of Fonthill, peopled with the prototypes of Gulchurry and Norronhas, solely visible for three consecutive days and nights by the glow of lamps and fires—suggested my first ideas of the Palace of Eblis." —*Letter to Clark.*

2 The "oriental" nature of the decoration seems a little doubtful. The ceiling gold, painted with wreaths of flowers by French artists. An "altar of verde antique" contained the fireplace. There were also cabinets painted by Smirke, candelabras, etc., and "piles of cushions were distributed about the apartment."

3 The date, formerly given as September, 1759, has been corrected by the late Dr. Garnett, who shows how the mistake arose.

On his return, in February or March, 1781, he remained in England until his coming of age in the autumn. In a contemporary letter there is detailed account of expensive splendours of the week. There had been music, dancing and feasting from the beginning of the week; on Friday not less than three hundred guests ("one-third of whom were nobility and persons of fashion") sat down to dinner. A ball and supper followed, and afterwards they played at cards till daylight, when, soon after breakfast, the park, woods, and plantations were filled with country people from Hindon and the villages round. Ten or twelve thousand were feasted in booths on the lawn before the house, and much strong beer was dispensed. That night there was a grand illumination from some thousand lamps arranged on the lawn, in the wood, and along the river, and three great bonfires lit up the distance. Then followed fireworks and a concert including a pastoral in honour of the day. The next day, Sunday, the best part of the company that stayed assembled in a large room, where Beckford's exemplary tutor, one Dr. Lettice, gave them a sermon. This magnificence was, perhaps, not disproportionate to Beckford's inheritance. "England's wealthiest son," the richer for his long minority, according to his own account, came into nearly a million ready money and an income of £100,000 a year.

In the spring of 1782 he set off upon another tour, this time with an artist, a doctor, and an "eminent" musician in his train. He married, on May 6th, 1783, Lady Margaret Gordon, and in the same year printed his *Dreams, Waking Thoughts, and Incidents in a series of letters from various parts of Europe*, almost the entire edition of which was destroyed by the advice of his friends, who were of opinion that a "quickness of sensibility such as his extreme tenderness for the animal creation, and dislike of torturing it for sport," which was afterwards to make him one of the curiosities of the county, might prejudice him in the House of Commons!

He was abroad for most of 1783-6. But in a letter written by him from Fonthill on October 19th, 1784, he is far advanced on *Vathek;* the "episodes" were not yet completed, but the translation was. He writes: "Mr. Lane is rockifying, not in high places, but in a snug copse by the river side, where I spend many an hour dreaming about my unfortunate princes, and contriving reasonable ways and means of sending them to the devil." One would not imagine that *Vathek* is studied from the life, but Beckford said that all the women's characters were enlarged "portraits of those in the domestic establishment at Old Fonthill, their imaginary good or ill qualities exaggerated." In July, 1785, he went abroad, but returned in 1786. In 1796, Beckford, now thirty-six years of age, settled down at Fonthill, having "seen as much of the world as any other individual of his day." Making a hermitage of a palace, he shut himself up with a doctor, a musician, and a French abbé, and launched out upon his course of architectural extravagance. A great deal was made at the time of this Sultan-hermit life, but he seems to have had an instinctive dislike for large companies,[1] and his life abroad was certainly not best fitted to introduce him to English country life as his neighbours understood it. He was peculiarly out of sympathy with sport, and had given notice to the country round Fonthill that he would allow of no trespass after game on his estate. One morning, after he had found men and dogs ranging at full liberty over his land, he sent for a contractor to build a wall round all the planted and arable part—about seven miles—within twelve months. It was to be twelve feet high, with a sort of *chevaux-de-frise* on the top, and was completed in 1796. Within the wall the very hares grew bold; it is said that they would feed from Beckford's hands at his horse's feet, while

1 "In my early youth I disliked large companies. I could not think; it confused my ideas."

the cattle would follow him as he went through the fields.

As early as 1796 Beckford had given Wyatt an order to build "a convent, partly in ruins and partly perfect. The chapel, the parlour, the dormitory, and one small cloister alone appeared to have survived the period which had buried the refectory, the kitchen, and every other part of the edifice in one common ruin."[1] Now disliking the damp site of Old Fonthill, Beckford began his so-called abbey. The neighbouring villages were crowded with workmen; a new hamlet rose for the new settlers. At one time husbandry stood still, for all the horses and waggons in the country round were pressed into Beckford's service; even the royal works at Windsor Castle were abandoned for a while, that men might work at Fonthill. They worked night and day, relieving each other by regular watches. Beckford, with his characteristic appetite for pictorial effects, used to watch at night the "high and giddy dancing of the lights, the strange effects produced upon the architecture and woods below from one of the eminences in the walks, wasting the coldest hours of November and December in feasting his sense with this display of almost superhuman power."[2] Others besides Beckford were attracted to the curious spectacle, and people even disguised themselves as workmen to see what was going on.

The plan of the abbey, built on dry and healthy ground, was that of a cross, the arms of which were pretty nearly the same length, though differing in breadth, a tall octagonal tower springing from the centre. "It combined," wrote an admiring contemporary, "all that is awful in the cathedral, all that is magnificent in the modern style of architecture." To us to-day the abbey, even in the old

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1 *Delineations of Fonthill and its Abbey.* Rutter, 1823.

2 Rogers thought that the "Episodes" to *Vathek* showed "that the mind of the author was to a certain extent diseased."—*Table Talk of Samuel Rogers.*

soft steel engravings, looks what it was—one of Wyatt's unsightly failures, "an orgy of reckless Gothic," rather than a York minster set among woods; Beckford's "folly," rather than the visions of Kubla Khan in actual substance. It is curious that he should have once written of himself that he was a "fervent classic." Some notes of criticism were heard among the chorus of admiration. The discomfort of the building was patent, and a contemporary manuscript note in a copy of *Delineations of Fonthill Abbey* speaks of it as "replete with errors of omissions, defects in style, mouldings, ornament. The work appears to be the design of such a man as Beck, and executed from an architect so careless and headless as Wyatt."

While the works were in progress the workmen were not forgotten: a feast was given to them on Twelfth Day, 1797, and to the poor of the two Fonthills and Hindon. The picturesque was not forgotten; the account reads like a picture of dancing boors by Van Ostade. The bonfires and other fires, which remained burning the whole night, "with their flames and long-wreathed columns of different-coloured smoke rising among the lofty firs and unleaved oaks in the neighbourhood of the tent (still crowded by a shouting multitude dimly seen dancing round them), displayed to spectators in the house an effect equally picturesque and uncommon."[1]

No wonder that, after an absence abroad,[2] the villagers turned out to receive Beckford, and accompanied him to the lawn in front of the house, "exhibiting a strong attachment to him, or to the cheer which was certain to greet them on all occasions at his hands."

It was expected that the roof would be on the abbey by Christmas of 1799. The tower was then two hundred feet in height. The following year, Beckford, who wished

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1 An ox and ten sheep were roasted, and blankets and fuel distributed to all the poor of the neighbourhood.

2 Beckford left for Portugal in 1798, and returned to Fonthill in July in the following year.

to compound for a peerage with Sir William Hamilton, proposed to entertain the trio—Sir William, Lady Hamilton, and Nelson—and five hundred workmen were set to work to prepare for the visit. All that could be done was completed by Christmas. On Tuesday, December 23rd, a banquet was held at the abbey, and prints exist of the post-chaise with postilions, flambeaux in hand, driving into the Gothic archway of that fantastic demesne from Old Fonthill, by a circuitous route lit up by lamps suspended on the trees. In the interior decoration we can see how Beckford's sense of romance perplexed his judgment and at times made blind his eyes.

The company was set down in a groined Gothic hall between two lines of soldiers. They then proceeded onwards to the great saloon, which afterwards was called the "Cardinal's Parlour"; "before the arched windows dropped large full curtains of rich purple cloth; ebony chairs, and tables, studded or inlaid with ivory, for the most part of an antique pattern, but varied in form, composed the character of the furniture. *The whole was strictly in monastic taste*, and lit with wax candles in sconces of silver." The very dishes were "in the massy style and fashion of the ancient abbeys," while their contents were "unmingled with any of the refinements of the modern culinary art." After dinner, when the company mounted the stairs to see some of the rooms above, "the staircase was lighted by certain mysterious-looking figures dressed in hooded gowns, holding large wax torches."[1]

The next room was hung with yellow damask, and furnished with rare Japan work and credences to display gold plate. In the library, "all in monastic taste," music struck the ear from some invisible hand, and the evening closed with one of Lady Hamilton's famous plastic performances. When they left, the lights, lamps, and torches were burning dim, and it seemed to them they had entered

1 From a letter in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. lxxi.

the fantastic palace not through the Gothic arch, but through the ivory gate of deceiving dreams.

The abbey grounds were laid out to be "wildly natural": all was rustic and romantic, in the taste of garden designers of the latter half of the eighteenth century—

> Miles of fertile ground,
> With walls and towers were girdled round;
> And there were gardens bright with sensuous rills,
> Where blossomed many an incense-bearing tree;
> And here were forests ancient as the hills,
> Enfolding sunny spots of greenery.

There was an American plantation, which, in the flowering season, "perfumed the air with spicy effluvia," and English and foreign heaths were planted on the sides of the paths; a wood in some places so dark as to be impervious to the sight—one of the "sombre groves" of the landscape-gardening school; miles of avenues, one above a mile long, with a carpet on each side of the road of green moss, low ground fern, wild thyme, and sweet-smelling ground flowers, the whole matted and interlaced together by a network of wild strawberries. There was a "Norway Cottage," where the solitary hermit might retire from the busy world, and summer house, "High Park Lodge," consisting of a sitting room and a kitchen, where Beckford sometimes retired for a few hours from the gorgeousness by which he was surrounded.[1] The now dilapidated Hermit's Cave, subterranean excavations lighted by openings in the wood above and running under the road, was also the work of Beckford.

It is said that among his other experiments he attempted to "put Portugal in his garden, and capture Spain beneath the leaded panes of his glass-house." The atmosphere, which he changed at will and without regard to the shifting seasons, was his own; and under the sky of an English autumn he might mimic the sultry heat of

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1 *Delineations of Fonthill and its Abbey.* Rutter, 1823.

an Italian summer. He was also, it is said, responsible for a painted tree, independent of winter and summer, sunshine and rain.

In June, 1801, he determined to remove to the now finished abbey, and ordered much of the furniture of Old Fonthill to be sold,[1] and a part of that house to be pulled down. At this sale, the curiosity of the country round was so excited that the harvest is said to have been retarded.

The depreciation of Beckford's West Indian property and unfortunate law-suits induced him to sell the whole estate in 1823, with the abbey and all its contents, to a Mr. Farquhar for the round sum of £290,000; while he himself, with his best books, paintings, and objects of art, retired to Bath. It has been said that he sometimes parted with a picture, but never with a book, but certain of Beckford's letters to his agent Clark abound in references to books as "Fonthills," for which he was always on the watch, either to re-purchase them or at least to run them up.[2] After the sale he heard the tower was insecure, and warned the purchaser, who said that he was "quite satisfied it would last his time." Shortly afterwards,[3] the tower did fall over into the marble court, but (though this is almost incredible) so gently that Mr. Farquhar, in another part of the building, was not aware of the accident. It was perhaps fortunate that Wyatt the Destroyer was beyond the reach of Beckford's power of invective. Beckford told a friend that he had feared he himself might be crushed like a lobster in his shell. The

[1] The first sale at Old Fonthill took place August 19th, 1801 (chiefly furniture). A second sale of furniture took place October 7th, 1801. A third sale was on August 17th, 1807, when the organ, pictures, and porcelain were disposed of. "The dilapidation" of the *old* house took place in the following September. A fourth sale was advertised at the *Abbey*, October 8th, 1822 (Christie), and catalogues at a guinea each were issued. In the autumn of 1823 the library, furniture, pictures, china, etc., were sold. The sale began on September 9th, and continued to the 31st of October, in all thirty-seven days.

[2] "The Sultan of Lansdown Tower."—*Temple Bar*, 1900.

[3] December 21st, 1825.

fall did not take place, however, before the Beckford treasures had been viewed by the curious, and scattered. Hazlitt, always subacid and positive, remarked that the only proof of taste Beckford had shown in this collection was his getting rid of it. The abbey he found "a desert of magnificence, a glittering waste of laborious idleness, a cathedral turned into a toy shop, an immense museum of all that is curious and costly and at the same time most worthless, in the productions of art and nature." Mr. Charles Whibley generously attributes Beckford's mistakes to the influence of his generation, which caused a furtive confusion between Wardour Street and a perfect collection. The stones of the ill-fated building were dispersed like the collection. In 1826,[1] uninhabited, stripped of its furniture, and most of the principal windows taken out, it was bought as building material. A house built by the Marquis of Westminster about half-a-mile from it is now in the possession of Sir H. Shaw Stewart.

Beckford, freed from his "folly," now removed to Bath, and in his new home in Lansdown Crescent proceeded, but more modestly, to make a garden on the rough hillside behind his house and another tower; for he was "partial to looking over a wide horizon." The ugly dwarf Pero,[2] who had opened the entrance doors of Fonthill Abbey—doors thirty feet high, and

> Arched so high that giants [may] get through,
> And keep their impious turban on,

was stationed in the vestibule of his Bath house with no

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1 In February, 1826, Mr. Farquhar sold the domain surrounding Fonthill. In March of the same year it was sold to J. Bennett, M.P., for £130,000.

2 "No one understood the force of contrast better than Mr. Beckford. He used to make his dwarf servant open the great doors of Fonthill Abbey, between twenty and thirty feet high."—*Memoirs of Beckford* (Cyrus Redding).

"In the Bath house visitors were admitted by the hall-porter and passed on to a servant in the interior, while this wretched-looking object sat in his armchair grinning."—*Bath Celebrities, with Fragments of Local History* (J. Murch).

apparent duty. The new house was Fonthill in little, and at Bath, as at Fonthill, Beckford lived apart from local interests, absorbed in his collection. He caught influenza while visiting Paris to purchase books, and died at Lansdown Tower in 1844. His will had directed that his body should be embalmed and buried in a mausoleum in his garden, but as this was not then consecrated ground, the tomb was taken to the abbey cemetery, Widcombe Vale, whence it has been brought back to his garden,[1] in which he had desired to lie.

M. JOURDAIN.

[1] After Beckford's death, when the property was in danger of being turned into a tea garden, his daughter, the Duchess of Hamilton, bought the ground and gave it as a public cemetery for Walcot parish.

MARLBOROUGH IN OLDEN TIMES

Urbem lautam nil moramur ;
Rus apertum noster amor ;
Hoc nos firmat—sic Etruria
Fortis crevit[1] *—sic Marlburia.*

A fig for fashionable towns!
Give us green woods and open downs:
By country life *Etruria* grew
So valiant, and *Marlburia* too!
Carmen Marlburiense (C. W. Moule).

AT the present day the name of Marlborough is connected with the thought of a flourishing Public School which maintains its *quota* of six hundred boys; or else it recalls the memory of one of England's most successful generals. But John Churchill was not created first Duke of Marlborough until 1702,[2] and "the College at Marlborough for the Sons of Clergy and Others" was founded as recently as 1843, whereas the town of that name had its Great Fire in 1653 (eclipsed only by that of London in 1666), its Siege in 1642, its Suffragan Bishop in 1537, its Priory of Whitefriars or Carmelites in 1309, its Hospital of St. Thomas the Martyr in 1232, its Hospital of St. John for poor brethren and sisters in 1214, its house of Gilbertines about 1190, and its Royal Mint a century earlier. It had also its two or more churches and a burgh and castle at least as early as the reign of William the Conqueror: a castle where Royalty (Plantagenet, Tudor,

[1] Virgil, *Georg.* ii. 533.
[2] He was made *Earl* of Marlborough by William III. in 1689.

MARLBOROUGH—THE "CASTLE INN," NOW PART OF THE SCHOOL.

and Stuart in turn) made sojourn with greater or less frequency, whether the fortified castle were held in chief for the reigning sovereign, or whether the later mansion which took the place of the castle, dismantled about 1500, was given as a dower-house to the queen, or to the Seymours, who more than once aspired to a royal alliance.

Marlborough itself—or the suburb of it known as *Cunetio*, on the Kennet stream—attracted Roman settlers first to Folly Farm, and then from the Silbury and Avebury Station to the Mildenhall border of Marlborough (Lower *Cunetio*) about the beginning of the fourth century after Christ; and within the last few years a relic of Roman paganism was found in the Norman foundation of St. Mary's Church—a stone figure, carved in relief, and representing the goddess Fortune—which a local antiquary, Mr. J. W. Brooke, shows cause to attribute to about the time of Diocletian, A.D. 310.

At Marlborough—perhaps in the castle of that period—William the Conqueror imprisoned certain of the Saxon prelates who opposed him. Here King Henry I. kept his Easter in 1110. At the Castle, the great St. Hugh had an interview with King Henry II., September 14th, 1186, when making up his mind to accept the Bishopric of Lincoln. Here King John, before his accession, was married to his first wife, August 29th, 1189. Here, in January, 1226, King Henry III. lay sick, and was visited by Archbishop Stephen Langton, and also by William Longespée, who had been recognised by King Henry II. as a son, and who came to lay a complaint against a nephew of Hubert de Burgh, the justiciar, for an affront offered to his Countess, the noble Lady Ela, who subsequently founded two monasteries in one day, and whose history is so romantic that fiction can hardly surpass it. Here, in 1267, the King held his Parliament, and assented to the "Statutes of Marlborough," whereby Simon de Montfort's demands were secured at the close of "the Barons' War."

St. Hugh's witty and jovial Precentor of Lincoln, Walter Map, or Mapes, has left on record a curious tradition that there is "a certain spring in Marlborough, whereof whosoever drinketh, *thenceforth he will speak barbarous French.*" Map himself had spent some years in Paris, and was presumably a judge of "French of Paris," and if not of that "after the school of Stratford-atte-Bow," at least of French of Marlborough, a place which, as we may infer, he visited.

When John Aubrey, the Wiltshire antiquary, persuaded King Charles II., with James, then Duke of York, to visit Avebury, he was commanded to wait upon His Majesty at Marlborough in 1663; and he was their guide at Avebury and Silbury Hill. In the Castle grounds at Marlborough they could see a similar, though slightly smaller, artificial hill or mound, which carried them in thought back, past the Norman or Saxon fortress and the Roman road, to prehistoric times. On or near that mount the Castle had been built, and some remains of it were still noticed when the College was established there sixty years ago. But now not a trace of ancient masonry is visible. The mount at Marlborough is still preserved, although the eighteenth century ideas of taste thought fit to tame it down with spiral walks and hedges of fragrant shrubs, to excavate its sides for a grotto "like Mr. Pope's at Twickenham," and to surmount it with a summer-house where Lady Hertford might entertain ladies of title or listen to tame minor poets, such as Dr. Watts and Mrs. Elizabeth Rowe, and poor Stephen Duck (who had once been a labourer, threshing Mr. Daniell's corn on what had once been the land of the Whitefriars of the order of St. Gilbert of Sempringham).

Here it was that James Thomson, about 1727, paid a visit, and preferred drinking his young lordship's port wine rather than listening to her ladyship's own poems. He felt, however, the romantic character of the country when he was sitting on Granham Hill, which looks down

upon the College and the town and Preshute water-meads. The brown sarsen stone on which he sat when he was composing his poem on "Spring," now included (with its dedication in honour of Lady Hertford) in the "Seasons," formed part of what is still known as "Thomson's Stile." This stone was brought down to a corner of the High Street as a curb for coaches turning near the Castle Inn, and now faces the Master's Lodge. In 1887 Archbishop Benson came to Marlborough, and by a remarkable instinct begged one of the town authorities to spare this brown stone from the destruction or removal which then threatened it, since coaches had been utterly abolished by the two lines of railway which reach Marlborough. The Archbishop never knew of the later history of the sarsen stone for which he successfully pleaded, nor that it was not in its earlier site; but the present writer has learnt the fact from one who remembers Marlborough more than sixty years ago, and whose father was the principal coach agent, living in the "White House," which was subsequently acquired by the College for a temporary residence for the Headmaster, and became a boys' dormitory (to which my informant returned when he became a scholar). It stood on the site of the Sick House. From the "White House" was removed the curious oaken mantel-piece of Elizabethan or Jacobean carving, where "Gog" and "Magog" flank "Moses Striking the Rock," now standing in the Masters' Common Room.

For almost a century (1751-1842) the site of the Royal Castle and the rooms and buildings of the Seymours', Hertfords', and Bruces' mansion became a hostelry for the accommodation of travellers between London and Bath or Bristol. The Seymours' house, re-edified about 1670-80 (and altered about 1720, when the portico below the College clock was removed thither from Mildenhall Woodlands), has left traces of its grandeur in a fine staircase, as well as in a ball-room, which is now a College

dormitory. The Castle Inn has not only lent its name for the title of one of Mr. Stanley Weyman's novels, but has left behind it its "bar" window, which is still preserved as a reminiscence of its transition stage, when travellers by coach and post-chaise always stopped at Marlborough.[1]

It is said by aged persons that four and forty coaches used to call daily at one or other of the Marlborough inns.[2] So early as November, 1658, one Onesiphorus Tap, "Postmaster" in Marlborough, advertised the London and Marlborough coach, which went through Newbury and Hungerford, starting "every Monday at the Post-house in Marlborough, and every Thursday at the Red Lion in

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1 The following table shows the departure of daily coaches from Marlborough about 1792:—

From	To London.	To Bath.	To Bristol.	To Exeter.
Duke's Arms . . .	10 a.m.	4 p.m.		
Black Swan . . .	*9.30 p.m.	†5 a.m.		
Castle Inn . . .	9.30 a.m.	11 a.m.		
,, ,, . . .	*3 p.m.	3 p.m.		
,, ,, . . .	9 p.m.			
Castle and Ball . .	‡10 a.m.	‡4 p.m.		
Angel	9 p.m. mail.		6 a.m.	5 a.m.
,, ...	9 p.m. post.		(returns at 9 p.m.)	

* Every day except Sunday.
† Every day except Monday.
‡ On Monday, Wednesday, and Friday only.

There were also "waggons" to Bristol daily; Newbury, 8.0 a.m. daily, returning in the evening; London (Clark's "waggons"), Saturday morning, Sunday night, Monday morning and night; Salisbury, Sunday, returns on Friday.

Under the head of *Salisbury*, coaches, wagons, etc., in the same volume, however, we also find: "Marlborough. George comes to the Chough, Monday evening; returns Tuesday morning at 9 o'clock."

The London mail arrived at the Post Office daily at 6 a.m.; despatch every night, except Saturday.

The Exeter mail arrived every night; despatch every day at 6 a.m.

Cross post to Swindon and Wootton Bassett at 8 a.m.; returns at 7 p.m.

2 At Oxford, according to Mr. W. Bayzand's recollections, about 1820-40, they had seventy-three coaches in and out every twenty-four hours.—*Oxf. Hist. Soc. Collectanea* iv. 267. There were (about 1790) twenty-five inns in Marlborough, with signs; besides two other victuallers' houses and a lodging-house, not thus distinguished. The signs were

Fleet Street." About 1584, we trace the annual payment of £4 "for keeping post-horses," or (1610) "to the post-master," in the Borough Accounts.[1]

In 1668, when Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Pepys, with their "boy" and two maids, rode through Wiltshire, they visited Marlborough on June 15th (as John Evelyn had done, 9th June, 1654, just after the town had begun to recover from the disastrous fire). Pepys noticed what is still a feature along the north side of the broad and picturesque High Street—"a pretty fair town" (as he describes it) "for a street or two; and what is most singular is, their houses on one side having their pent-houses supported with pillars, which makes it a good walk." They "lay at the Hart" inn.[2]

We may now record a few events of interest which occurred here in addition to those before-mentioned.

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these: The Angel, Antelope, Bear and Castle, Bell, Black Swan, Castle, Castle and Ball, Catherine-wheel, Coach and Horses, Cross-keys, Duke's Arms, Duke of York, Fleur-de-lis, Green Dragon, Jolly Butcher, King's Arms, King's Head, Lamb, Ring of Bells, Roebuck, Rose and Crown, Royal Oak, Ship, Sun, and Waggon and Horses. Some eight of these old inns are now represented by private houses (the Bell, Black Swan, Coach and Horses, Fleur-de-lis, Lamb, Ring of Bells—probably what is still recollected as the "Six Bells"—Ship, and Waggon and Horses). Besides these, the Antelope (subsequently the Mount Inn, etc., etc.) is now the College pastry-cook's or "tuck-shop"; the Castle Inn has become part of Marlborough College itself, and the Angel Inn has been converted into a Temperance Coffee Tavern, under the same sign. Perhaps fifteen of the twenty-five inns retain their licenses; and of these the Catherine-wheel has become the Cricketers', and the Duke's Arms is now known as the Ailesbury Arms Hotel.

Nearly a dozen other Marlborough signs, not recorded in the Directory about 1792, are mentioned in the Licensing Order of 1782, viz., the Bell and Shoulder, Black Bull, Boot and Slipper, Bull, Crown in Kingsbury Street, Five Alls, Golden Fleece (near the present Corn Exchange), Golden Lion, Running Horse, Three Tuns (east of the Ailesbury Arms), and Unicorn. We have a list of many other signs of earlier and later dates.

1 Ralph Allen (1694-1764), of Prior's Park, who did "good by stealth, and blushed to find it fame" (Pope), and farmed the cross-posts of the country, had at one time been a post-horse letter-carrier between Marlborough and Bath, earning ½d. per mile, before he could read or write. He is described as "Squire Allworthy" in *Tom Jones*, and is also alluded to in *Joseph Andrews*.

2 Pepys's *Diary* (1905), viii. 46.

On March 10th, 1498, Thomas Wolsey, of Norwich Diocese, exercised the choice which fellows of colleges still claim, to receive holy orders in any diocese which they may prefer. The future Cardinal was ordained priest in company with nine acolytes, thirty-four subdeacons, six deacons, and three other (one religious and two collegiate) candidates for priesthood, by a Bishop *in partibus*, Suffragan to the Bishop of Salisbury, in the church of St. Peter and St. Paul, Marlborough.

In the latter part of his *Actes and Monuments* (the *Book of Martyrs*), Foxe relates, under the date "Anno 1558, November" (*sic*), the "Story and Condemnation of John Hunt and Richard White, readie to be burnt, but by the death of Queene Marie escaped the fire." White had been arrested by the Mayor of Marlborough, and sent to Bishop Capon at Salisbury, who imprisoned him in "the Lollards' tower" there. On April 26th, 1557, White was examined by the Bishop of Salisbury and Dr. Geffrey, his Chancellor, and also by Bishop James Brooks of Gloucester.[1] He subsequently gave an account of this examination to Foxe, who printed it, and mentioned (in his second edition) that White had become Vicar of St. Mary's, Marlborough, some time after "the happy comming in of Queen Elizabeth." He held the benefice from 1563 till he resigned in 1573. During the nineteen months or more of his imprisonment he was many times examined, and on one occasion by Dr. Blackstone, Chancellor of Exeter, who "fell in such a quaking and shaking (his conscience belike remorsing him) that he was faine, stooping downe, to lay both his hands upon his knees to stay his body from trembling."

At last Richard White was brought, with John Hunt, a husbandman of Marlborough, before Dr. Geffrey, the Bishop of Salisbury's Chancellor, and they were condemned to be burnt.

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1 Dr. Brooks died September 7th, 1558, and Queen Mary on November 17th.

The high Sheriff at that present was one named Sir Anthony Hungerford, who beeing then at the Sessions, was there charged with the two condemned persons, with other malefactors there condemned likewise the same time, to see the execution of death ministred vnto them.

In the meane time M. Clifford, of Boscon in Wiltshire, son in law to the said sir Anthony Hungerford the Sheriffe, cometh to his father, exhorting him and counselling him earnestly in no case to meddle with the death of these two innocent persons: and if the Chancellor and priests, would needes be instant vpon him, yet he shall first require the writ to be sent downe *De comburendo*, for his discharge.

Sir Anthony Hungerford hearing this, and vnderstanding Justice Browne to be in the towne the same time, went to him to aske his aduise and counsell in the matter: who told him that without the writ sent down from the superior powers, he could not be discharged: and if the writ were sent, then he must by the law do his charge.

The Sheriffe vnderstanding by Justice Brown, how far he might go by the law, and having at that time no writ for his warrant, let them alone, and the next day after taking his horse departed.

The Chancellor all this while maruelling what the Sheriffe meant, and yet disdaining to go unto him, but looking rather the other should have come first to him, at last hearing that he was ridden away, taketh his horse and rideth after him: who at length overtaking the said Sheriffe, declared vnto him, how he had committed certaine condemned prisoners to his hand, whose duety had been to have seene execution done vpon the same: which for that he had not done, the matter hee said, was great, and therefore willed him to looke well vnto it how he would answere the matter. And thus began he fiercely to lay to his charge. . . . The Sheriffe hearing the Chancellours wordes, and seeing him so urging vpon him, told him againe that he was no babe, which now was to be taught of him. If he had any writ to warrant and discharge him in burning those men, then hee knewe what he had to do. Why, saith the Chancellor, did not I give you a writ, my hand and 8 moe of the close set vnto the same? Well, quoth the Sheriffe, that is no sufficient discharge for me, and therefore, as I told you, if ye have a sufficient writ and warrant from the superiour powers, I know then what I have to doe in my office: otherwise, if you have no other writ but that, I tell you, I will neither burne them for you nor none of you all, &c. . . .

Doctor Geffrey the Chancellor, thus sent away from the sheriffe, went home, and there fell sicke vpon the same (for anger belike) as they signified vnto me, which were the parties themselves, both godly and grave persons, who were then condemned, the one of them which is Richard White being yet alive [now vicar of Malbrough in Wiltshire, *margin.*].

The vnder sheriffe to this Sir Anthonie Hungerford above named, was one M. Michell, likewise a right and a perfect godly man. So that

not long after this came downe the writ to burne the above named Rich. White and John Hunt, but the under Sheriffe receiving the said writ, said: I will not be guilty (quoth he) of these mens bloud, and immediately burnt the writing, and departed his way. Within four daies after the Chancellor died. Concerning whose death this commeth by the waie to be noted, that the 2 foresaid John Hunt and Richard White being the same time in a lowe and darke Dungeon, being Saturday, toward evening (according to their accustomed maner) fell to euening prayer. Who kneeling there together, as they should begin their praier, sodainly fel both to such a strange weeping and tendernesse of heart (but how they could not tell) that they could not pray one worde, but so continued a great space brusting out in teares. After that night was past, and the morning come, the first they heard was, that the Chancellour their great enemy was dead. The time of whose death they found to be the same houre, when as they fell in such a sodaine weeping.[1]

In the reign of James I., Robert Cecil, first Earl of Salisbury, stayed the night of May 1st, 1612, at St. Margaret's, the house of Mr. Daniell, on which spot, until January 16th, 1539, there had been a priory of Gilbertine canons, founded at the end of the twelfth century. He spent two or three weeks at "the Bathe," but received only temporary relief from his sickness, and on his journey towards Hatfield he was taken grievously ill, and breathed his last at Marlborough, either at his former host's house or at the dwelling of the parson in Marlborough, as one contemporary account asserts. An edifying record of the last days and hours of this statesman, who served his king and country with strict and self-denying fidelity, has been printed in Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, from the pen of his lordship's domestic chaplain, Mr. Bowles. The Earl died on Sunday, May 24th, 1612. He gave a donation to the churchwardens of St. Peter's, Marlborough, as was his custom to do at the places through which he journeyed.

Two years later (as we learn from the account rendered by the Chamberlain of the Borough, December 2nd, 1614), a messenger brought "letters touchinge the Benevolence" requested or demanded in the name of

1 J. Foxe, *Actes and Monuments*, folio, ed. 1610, pp. 1863-4.

King James I., and received five shillings for his pains. On the eve of the meeting of the justices to make a list of contributions, the Mayor of Marlborough, whose name appears to have been William Francklyn, received from "a gentleman of an ancient house," named Oliver St. John,[1] a letter stating that he must be numbered among the "*not-givers*" of the benevolence, and enclosing (with an excuse for not appearing in person) an argument against the legality of the demand, on the ground of (i.) *law*, citing *Magna Charta;* 9 Hen. III., 1224-5; 25 Edw. I., 1297; and 1 Ric. III., 1483-4; (ii.) *reason*, because the Commons are ignorant of the amount required, and they are herein called upon to give singly what the Parliament in its collective wisdom has denied; and (iii.) *religion*, inasmuch as contributors may be said to help the King to commit perjury in respect of his coronation oath, and render themselves liable to the sentence of the Great Curse or Excommunication of 1252 and the Archbishop's Sentence of 1296, the latter whereof he cites at length. In the third branch of his argument Mr. St. John made a reference to the deposition of King Richard II., which, if not intentionally seditious, was sure to bring him into suspicion of high treason. He was summoned to London in 1614 on the charge, not of declining to contribute, but of contemptuous and libellous language against the King. He was committed to the Fleet prison, and after his examination he was transferred to the Tower. The Lord Chancellor Ellesmere being ill, St. John's trial before the Star Chamber was deferred till April, 1615. Sir Francis Bacon, as Attorney-

1 Hallam and Lord Campbell identify this Mr. O. St. John, the "not-giver" of Benevolences, or constitutional passive-resister of 1614, with his namesake, the Chief Justice, who defended Lord Saye and John Hampden in their resistance to ship money in 1637, and attacked the levy in 1640, and promoted Strafford's attainder. But the last-named Chief Justice would have been only a minor (aged about sixteen in 1612), as Dr. Gardiner has pointed out, and I find in the Marlborough Corporation Rent-roll of 1604 that a Mr. Oliver St. John (probably our "not-giver") was paying £20 for his dwelling-house in the Greene Ward.

General, prosecuted for the Crown, and was supported by Coke, who appears to have modified his opinion that benevolences were illegal. St. John was convicted and sentenced to a heavy fine, with imprisonment during His Majesty's pleasure. Within two months he submitted, and his fine was pardoned, and he appears soon after to have been at liberty; for he wrote a petition, in the fulsome terms of flattery then not unusual, to ask that the record of his conviction might be cancelled. This likewise was graciously conceded.

Shortly before the outbreak of the "Grand Rebellion" Marlborough was made "the place of general rendezvous of the prest men" in May and June. In the place and immediate neighbourhood, three hundred and fifty men were raised, and others flocked in (or were at least expected) from Salisbury, Chippenham, and Warminster.[1] About the beginning of June some of the trained bands broke open the prison, and released certain men who had been committed for refusing to pay the coat and conduct money. About June 16th, 1640, the Lord Chamberlain appeased the soldiers, and about five hundred and twenty of them were reported as "well coated, and ready to march to the North."[2] There were still soldiers in the place in July, when one Mr. Barnard was reported to have been trying to make them disaffected by his puritanical preaching (p. 493). Unhappily, the Borough Accounts are defective for 1641-3; but in 1640 we find payments for work at the cage, for a drumhead, drum-stick, drummer, one hundredweight of match, one and a quarter hundredweights of lead, and two hundredweights of gunpowder.

Notwithstanding the influence of the loyal Seymours at Tottenham and at the Castle, and Lord Lee of Marlborough, the town of Marlborough was, in the main, favourable to the Parliamentarians and Puritanism. On

1 *S. P. Dom.*, 1640, pp. 203, 258.
2 *Ibid.*, pp. 282, 309.

June 11th, 1642, Mr. Franklyn, M.P., was ordered to thank the town for their forwardness in collecting £600 locally towards a "loan." Prince Rupert's success at the first battle of Worcester, September 23rd, having been followed by the doubtful issue of Edgehill a month later, and Oxford being at the time the King's headquarters, Wiltshire became soon plunged into the thick of the conflict, and in 1643, after a battle at Lansdowne on the 5th, Devizes, on July 13th, saw the brilliant defeat of Sir W. Waller by the Royalists. In the interval—December 5th, 1642—Marlborough was besieged and taken by the Royalists. In the previous July the militia met, four hundred strong, at Marlborough, about a hundred "volunteers" being drawn from the town itself under Captains Diggs and Daniel. Meanwhile, W. Seymour, Marquis of Hertford (who resided principally at Amesbury), and his younger brother, Sir Francis Seymour, who, by Strafford's influence, had become Baron Seymour of Trowbridge, and whose residence was Marlborough Castle, were charged to put the Commission of Array in execution here, on behalf of the King. While the Royalists were in winter quarters at Oxford, they designed to seize Marlborough. Sir Neville Poole, of Charlton Park, M.P. for Malmesbury, came in November, 1642, to organise the militia (numbering a hundred and fifty) at Marlborough, in order to defend the town for the Parliament; and volunteers and countrymen detained when they came marketing swelled his numbers to about seven hundred.

On November 24th, Lord Digby sallied forth from Oxford with four hundred horse, and was sighted on Marlborough Common. A parley having been sounded, Mr. Vincent Goddard rode forward from the Royalist force to meet Sir Neville. A few musket shots were discharged by the Marlborough men, and Lord Digby, after some hours' inactivity, retired to Aldbourne, and after sustaining a night attack there, retreated to Wantage, Vincent

Goddard having been taken prisoner. The Marlborough men applied to Lord Essex, the Parliamentarian commander-in-chief at Windsor, for officers. He sent a sergeant-major and a captain, both Scotsmen, one of whom (named Ramsay) had commanded the left wing at Edgehill. Under their instruction, the north of the town was defended with horn-works, and the entrances east and west were barricaded, the river Kennet forming a natural defence to the south. They seized the Royalist castle, and kept Lady Seymour and her daughter there as prisoners of war. J. Franklyn, M.P., reported their successes to Parliament, and supplies were ordered for the town, whither Franklyn himself repaired. On the other side, Lord Digby was reinforced before Saturday, December 3rd, by Wilmot, lieutenant-general of horse, from Abingdon and Wantage, so that their dragoons together numbered four thousand. Further, Lord Grandison and Colonel Grey brought up two regiments of cavalry from Basingstoke, and arrived on Sunday, December 4th, through Savernake Forest, on the south and east; but the Marlborough musketeers chased them away towards Ogbourne. Their scouts sallying forth thence fired, without success, upon the Marlborough sentinels, who, however, shot two of them in return.

On Monday, December 5th, 1642, the cavalry, under Lord Grandison and Lord Wentworth, faced the north side of the town, while Lord Digby and Sir Daniel O'Neile prepared to invest the southern approaches. Colonel Blake subsequently arrived on the north with infantry and heavy artillery; but the houses lie out of sight from the hills on the north, and shots flew over the town. Blake's infantry, under the cover of hedges, crept within musket shot on the north-east, and were seconded by Lord Rivers' foot and Colonel Grey's dragoons. On the north-west, Sir W. Pennyman's and Sir J. Pennyman's foot and Usher's dragoons planted a battery. After three hours' assault, a shell set fire to a

barn, and dislodged the defenders who had occupied a house behind it. On their retreat, the Royalists burst the lines at that point, the infantry pouring into the High Street or centre of the town by the narrow passage at the back of one of the chief inns—probably the Castle and Ball or the Old White Hart (now Messrs. Paice's and Russell's). They cleared an entrance for the cavalry through the barricades, crying "A town! a town for King Charles!" The country folk, who had been forcibly detained since the Saturday's market, took fright, threw their firelocks into the Kennet, and many made their escape. Ramsay and some musketeers got into a church —probably St. Mary's, at the east of the town, as bullets have been discovered in the masonry of the tower. Ramsay and his men were subsequently captured. Meanwhile, Sir Neville Poole, with the halberdiers and pikemen, retreated to the Castle mound, carrying the Seymour ladies still their prisoners, and there, for some time, they deterred the cavaliers from firing by setting up two dummies, dressed in black and white to counterfeit the Royalist ladies, in a conspicuous place upon the mount.

Exasperated by the resistance of the town, the King's soldiers tried (though with little success) to set it on fire, but they pillaged and burnt the contents of the market-house and the shops. Upwards of a hundred prisoners were carried before the guns to the King at Oxford, where Antony Wood saw them on their way to the Castle there. Mr. Franklyn, who was one of them, died there in confinement.

During the years that followed, the Rector of St. Peter's, Nicholas Profitt, who had been collated to the benefice by Bishop Davenant, preached in and near London, and was a member of the Westminster Assembly of Divines (July, 1643-9). Various ministers were engaged from time to time in the Rector's absence to preach or "teach" (as the phrase was), and were

"gratified" by a quart of wine or the proceeds of the collection in church.

On May 2nd, 1645, Lord Goring, on his way to Abingdon with three thousand men, bivouacked at Marlborough Thorns (the Common). On June 14th the King was defeated at Naseby. On Monday, June 23rd, old parson Peter Waterman, of Wootton Rivers, a Wadham man, marched his parishioners, armed as "club-men," to the Thorns. An army of such countrymen mustered so strong in the county that Cromwell had to crush them. In June (27th to 30th) Fairfax with his men was at Marlborough, and when he marched on to the rendezvous at Amesbury, some of his men stayed behind for the amusements of St. Peter's fair, where they fell into the hands of Major Dowett's Royalist troopers from Devizes, who took them prisoners.

It was on Wednesday, April 20th, 1653, that Cromwell entered the House of Commons, removed the Speaker and the mace, and carried off the key of the door. In the next week, on Thursday, April 28th, the town of Marlborough suffered from a conflagration, perhaps the most disastrous which had up to that time been known in England. The fire broke out in Mr. Francis Freeman's tanyard, on the south of the High Street, very near St. Peter's Church, which, however, escaped damage, as did the old St. Katharine's chantry-house (now Pope's foundry) on the north. The loose smouldering bark was, however, carried by a gust across the broad High Street on to the thatched houses, and the wind changing to a westerly gale, the entire street, from these points on both sides, blazed along its whole length eastward, till it spent its fury upon the market-house, in which four or five tons of cheese were ruthlessly toasted, and St. Mary's Church was unroofed and seriously damaged. In the course of about three hours some two or three hundred families found themselves homeless; and though stone walls and good oak beams were not actually burned up,

the lighter buildings were utterly consumed, and only one house (the Mayor's) escaped with its roof undamaged on either side of the High Street eastward of St. Katharine's chantry. Even beyond the market-house all the inns and some poor tenements in St. Mary's parish were consumed.

The loss of property was estimated at from fifty-four to eighty thousand pounds.[1] The fire took place in the day time, and the only casualties were a post-boy and a tailor's wife and four Dutchmen, two of whom lingered for a while. The Borough Accounts record a payment of half-a-crown "to five Dutchmen, for watching the fier." It appears that fifty Dutch prisoners of war from Southampton were, a few days before the fire, committed to custody at Marlborough, and a like number at Devizes. In consequence of the fire, the Mayor and Burgesses of Marlborough petitioned Parliament that they might be relieved of further charge, and the surviving prisoners were removed to Reading.[2]

Cromwell, who had visited the Earl of Pembroke at Ramsbury Manor in July, 1649, and who is said to have taken a glass at the George Inn (now divided into cottage tenements), and who doubtless remembered the "forwardness" of Marlborough in his cause, made use of an expedient previously employed by popes and kings, and on May 18th the Council of State at Whitehall ordered a collection to be made upon a brief by the Puritan ministers and wardens in every church or parish throughout England and Wales, and to be forwarded to a committee at Sadlers' Hall in London. Though complaints arose subsequently as to the administration of the fund, and one Colonel Downes was accused of obstructing the collection,[3] the town speedily rose from its ashes. Within the year St. Mary's Church was

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1 The official report, or petition, says, "at least £70,000."—*S. P. Dom.*, 1653, p. 336.

2 *S. P. Dom.*, April 15th and May 5th, 1653, pp. 280, 307.

3 *S. P. Dom.*, July, 1653, p. 41.

rebuilt—as a parallelogram, the chancel not having been replaced till later days, when it was realised that a church was built not to make room for preaching only—and (in order to light the new N.E. corner of the nave, now complete as an oblong, to balance the medieval S.E. chapel) one new window was introduced, very creditably executed in imitation of its fifteenth century neighbours.

After the death of the Protector Oliver, Marlborough became the scene of a curious episode, when the fall of the Commonwealth was approaching, and when many Presbyterians, as well as Royalists, were asking, "Why speak ye not a word of bringing the King back?" A young blacksmith of Marlborough, William Houlbrook by name, who was fond of a gossip at an inn where he had been called to a job of shoeing, had had what he esteemed the high distinction of shaking hands with Mr. Prynne, of Bath (some of whose numerous pamphlets he had read with admiration), and of drinking at his charge, in the summer of 1659.

At Whitehall, suspicions of the Royalist movement in Wiltshire had been aroused, and a commission was given to Cornet G. Joyce—the man who had conveyed King Charles I. a prisoner from Holmby House to Newmarket in 1647, and had afterwards been busy in his impeachment—to go down with other spies. In the disguise of loyalist yeomen they entrapped the talkative smith into statements damaging to himself, if not to the noblemen and gentry about Marlborough, though for a day or so he was on his guard, and though his widowed mother gave him the rhymed warning:—

> To the *George*, to shoing?
> To the *George*, to your undoing!

When walking on a fictitious errand he found that he had been "trepann'd"; his shoeing knives were wrested from him, and the literature with which he had regaled the supposed Royalists—the "Letter from the Devil to the

Rump" and a Dutch print of Cromwell preaching with an owl on his shoulder,[1] and one shilling were found upon him. He was mounted on a sorry horse, with his heels tied together, and so carried off by byways to Newbury, and thence by coach to Whitehall. His account of his sufferings by the way, his jests with the bystanders on dismounting, his repeated examinations by "Disbrowe," Bradshaw, and Sir Harry Vane, and his hard measure in Newgate,[2] and his quips and repartees on his repeated examination, and his final enlargement, are recorded by his own pen in a little book, twice printed in 1660 and reproduced, with some additions, in 1744. His education and his command of English, with a spice of shrewd common sense and sly humour, were not unlike those of his contemporary, John Bunyan, like whom he would occasionally drop into poetry. His memory was equally tenacious, only Houlbrook's reading comprised not merely the books which the author of the *Pilgrim's Progress* knew best—the Bible, Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*, and perhaps Clark's *Looking-glass for Saints and Sinners*—but such folio history books as had come within his reach. From these he would quote more or less apposite passages when he saw an opportunity for throwing dust in the eyes of one or other of his cross-examiners, who soon recognised in the "Loyal Blacksmith" a "winding" but a "merry blade."

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1 A copy of such a print is reproduced in Dean Spence's *Popular History of the Church of England*, iv. 162.

2 The committment of W. Holbrook is dated "Aug. 4th, 1659," according to *Cal. S. P. Dom.*, 1659-60, p. 71, from vol. cciv., *Index of entries of Proceedings in the Council of State*, i. 85. Unfortunately, the Minute Book itself is missing. It appears that in that month (August, 1659) Colonel J. Desborough made only one appearance at the Council of State—viz., on Tuesday, the 2nd. J. Bradshaw (who died on November 22nd) was present at the Council on August 6th to 13th, and 15th to 30th, the 14th being a Sunday. Houlbrook's portrait at his anvil, with the Blacksmiths' Arms and the motto, "By hammer and hand, all arts do stand," is reproduced in J. Caulfield's *Portraits of Remarkable Persons*, 8vo, 1813, ii., 164. Unless "1774" is a misprint for "1744," we must infer that yet a fourth impression was issued of the "True Relation," by "A Black-smith and no Jesuite," whereof three earlier editions have been mentioned as known to us.

In later times the history of Marlborough has been somewhat common-place. Until nearly the middle of the nineteenth century it was known chiefly as a stopping-place for coaches on the road from London to Bath or Bristol, with one of the best appointed inns, the "Castle," which lost its custom when the Great Western Railway was established; and from that time it was available for the site of a public school.

In the meanwhile Marlborough was not without its share of noteworthy natives and residents. At St. Peter's Rectory was born (February 8th, 1673-4) the Tory champion, Dr. Henry Sacheverell, and when his followers expressed their sentiments so forcibly in London in 1710, it was the meeting-house of another former Marlburian, Daniel Burgess the elder, that they sacked. The corporation of Marlborough assured Queen Anne of their loyalty to Church and Throne in an address presented on May 16th, 1710. Sir Michael Foster, judge of the King's Bench, was born here, December 16th, 1689, and educated in the old Grammar School. His father had refused a nomination to the office of town clerk and alderman of Marlborough when James II. was trying to conciliate dissenters in September, 1688. Thomas and Walter Hancock also find a niche in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

Besides some of those who have been already named, there may be reckoned as celebrated *alumni* of the old Grammar School at Marlborough, Walter Harte (1709-74), religious poet; Thomas Bruce, second Earl of Ailesbury (1655-1741); Lieut.-Gen. Sir T. Picton (1758-1815), distinguished at Badajoz and in his death at Waterloo.

CHR. WORDSWORTH.

MALMESBURY

TO write even the briefest history of Malmesbury in a short chapter is exceedingly difficult, and much more so than was imagined when the task was undertaken. The events that in justice must be chronicled are so numerous that it is feared the account will read more like a catalogue than a connected story.

Malmesbury stands on a steep hill surrounded by the waters of Avon except for a narrow neck of land to the north-west. From earliest times this hill was probably occupied for human habitation, for when the rivers were choked with fallen trees and rubbish, the low-lying country around must have been a swamp, rendering the hill well-nigh impregnable.

About the year 640 an Irish teacher named Maeldulbh settled here, and is stated to have built a small basilica. He gained great repute, for Ina, King of the West Saxons, sent his cousin, Aldhelm, to study with him.

Aldhelm succeeded his master as head of the school in 676, and from that time Malmesbury's importance began. Aldhelm incorporated the school into an abbey under regular rule; he enlarged the basilica, which was then hallowed in honour of the Holy Saviour, St. Peter and St. Paul; he built a new church in honour of the Blessed Virgin, and another to St. Michael. In 705 he was appointed to the newly-founded see of Sherborne, but died in 709 at Doulting, from whence his body was brought by easy stages to Malmesbury, and buried in St. Michael's

Church. The monks, who up to that period were housed near the old church, were transferred to St. Mary's.

At the end of the ninth and beginning of the tenth centuries, the country was ravaged by the Danes, and Malmesbury suffered with other places; but in recognition of services rendered by the burgesses in expelling these turbulent robbers, the king, Athelstane, about 930, granted them an estate near his manor of Norton, with common rights of exceptional importance, which are in force at the present time. Athelstane also gave land to the monastery, which he is said to have rebuilt, and at his death, in 941, he was buried at Malmesbury in front of the altar of St. Mary. Forty years later the church and monastic buildings were rebuilt by Abbot Ælfric.

The Norman invasion affected Malmesbury but little, except that the Saxon abbot was deposed by the Conqueror, and a foreigner, Thorold of Fescamp, instituted in his stead in 1070.

Early in the next century Roger, the domineering Bishop of Sarum and Chancellor of England, seized the abbey for his own use, and built a castle at Malmesbury to keep the monks and burgesses in subjection.[1] The position of the castle was apparently to the east of the present church, though various writers have placed it to the west, forgetting that the cemetery, which it encroached upon, was that of the monks to the east of the abbey church, and not the present parish churchyard. Roger died in 1139, and the monastery regained its rights, as well as the castle from the king, which was immediately pulled down.

It is reasonable to suppose that following the substitution of the revenues to the abbey, the great church, of which the present is a fragment, was begun. William of Malmesbury, the historian and an inmate of the abbey, records that in 1143 "the spacious structure of the

1 The town was probably walled at the same time.

Malmesbury Abbey—Portion of West Front.

larger church, built by Ælfric, was existing, and in size and beauty exceeded any other religious edifice in England," which shows conclusively that the new church was not begun, but it may be imagined that the statement was made in antagonism to the proposal, by one who loved the old order of things. The new church, which would be begun at the east end and be continued gradually westward, consisted of a presbytery with aisles and apsidal end, transepts with an apsidal chapel to each, a nave of nine bays with aisles, a south porch, and a central lantern tower. In the fourteenth century a general scheme of remodelling took place, and included the addition of a large lady chapel at the east end, and probably the squaring up of the old apsidal end; new clerestory windows and vaulting were put to the transepts and nave; the central tower was raised, and a tall spire added. In later days a square tower for bells was built over the two western bays of the nave.

William Worcester, a native of Bristol, has recorded the stepped sizes of this finished church, towards the end of the fifteenth century, which work out in feet as follows: the church with quire, 278 by 68½ feet; the lady chapel at the east end, 48¾ by 22¾ feet; the width of the nave between the aisles, 35¾ feet, and the cloister a square of 104 feet each way. The domestic buildings were on the north side of the church, but have mostly perished, so that the sequence of their building cannot be traced.

The monastery was suppressed on the 15th of December, 1539, and was then valued at £803 17s. 7d. a year. There was an abbot and twenty-one monks, of whom the former received a pension of two hundred marks and a house in Bristol, and the latter pensions varying from £13 6s. 8d. to £6. The site and buildings were granted to Thomas Stump, a rich clothier of the town, who presented the nave of the abbey church to the parish, as the old church of St. Paul was in a ruinous condition.

Leland visited Malmesbury in 1541, and his descrip-

tion is of such interest as to need no apology for quoting at length:—

I passid over a stone Bridg, wher as *Newton* Water, as I took it, rennith in the very Botom by the Toun, & so enterid by the Toune by theste gate.

The Toune of *Malmesbyri* stondith on the very Toppe of a greate slaty Rok, & ys wonderfully defendid by nature, for *Newton* Water cummith a 2 miles from North to the Toun: & *Avon* Water cummith by Weste of the Toun from *Loukington* Village a 4. Miles of, & meate aboute Bridge at South Est Part of the Toun, & so goith *Avon* by South a while, & then turneth flat West toward *Bristow*.

The Conducte that came to *Malmesbyri* Abbay was sette from *Newton*.

Newton Water & *Avon* ren so nere togither in the botom of the West Suburbe at *Malmesbyri*, that there within a Burbolt-shot the Toun is peninsulatid.

In the Toun be 4 Gates by the names of Est, West, North & South, ruinus al.

The Walles in many places stond ful up; but now very feble.

Nature hath diked the Toun strongely.

Ther were in thabbay Chirch Yard 3. Chirches: thabbay church: a right Magnificent thing; wher were 2. Steeples, one that had a mightie high *pyramis*, & felle daungerously in *hominum memoria*, & sins was not reedified: it stode in the midle of the *Transeptum* of the Chirch, & was a Marke to al the Countre about. The other yet standith, a greate square Toure, at the West Ende of the chirch.[1]

The Tounes Men a late bought this Chirch of the King, & hath made it their Paroche Chirch.

The Body of the olde Paroche Chirch, standing in the West End of the Chirch yarde, is clene taken doun. The Est End is convertid *in aulam civicam*. The fair square Tour in the West Ende is kept for a dwelling House.

Ther was a litle Chirch joining to the South side of the *Transeptum* of thabby Chirch, wher sum say *Joannes Scottus* the Great Clerk was slayne about the Tyme of *Alfrede* King of *West-Saxons* of his own Disciples thrusting & strikking hym with their Table Pointelles.

Wevers hath now lumes in this litle Chirch, but it stondith & is a very old Pece of work. . . . .

Ther is a right fair & costely Peace of Worke in the Market Place made al of Stone & curiously voultid for poore Market folkes to stande dry when Rayne cummith. Ther be 8. great Pillars & 8. open Arches:

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1 This tower fell shortly after Leland's visit, destroying the three western bays of the nave with the vaulting of five bays, which was apparently due to the removal of the abbey buildings to the north.

& the Work is 8 square: one great Pillar in the midle berith up the voulte. The men of the Toune made this Peace of Work *in hominum memoria*.

The hole logginges of thabbay be now longging to one *Stumpe*, an exceding riche Clothiar that boute them of the King.

This *Stumpe* was the chef Causer & Contributer to have thabbay Chirch made a Paroch Chirch.

At this present tyme every Corner of the vaste Houses of office that belongid to thabbay be fulle of lumbes to weve Clooth yn, & this *Stumpe* entendith to make a stret or 2. for Clothiers in the bak vacant Ground of the Abbay that is withyn the Toune Waulles.

The town of Malmesbury, though shorn of most of its ancient buildings, is still of great interest. The walls and gates have all gone, but can be traced by the lines of streets and boundaries, and a curious feature of this place is that, except the suburb of Westport, most of the present town is contained within the original limits.

The remains of the abbey church is the most important feature of the place, and one of which the inhabitants are justly proud. The present remains are merely a fragment of the original building, and comprise the six eastern bays of the nave, with the remaining three bays of the south aisle, and the south porch, the west and north arches of the central tower, and the west wall of the south transept. The nave has the main walls divided into three stories; the first story is formed by the arcade of pointed arches on cylindrical columns with escallop capitals, having carved grotesques at the apex and terminals of the labels; the second by the triforium, consisting of a depressed semi-circular arch in each bay enclosing four small arches on round columns; and the third by the clerestory, which had originally a large round-headed window in each bay surrounded externally by a series of ornamental plaques, and with pilaster buttresses dividing the bays. The aisles are vaulted, and have in each bay a round-headed window above wall arcades of four arches internally, and interlacing arches externally. In the east bay on the north are remains of the original procession doorway to the cloister.

The south porch is one of the grandest in the country; the outer arch comprises eight richly-carved orders, without capitals, three of which are divided into panels containing subjects of Bible history in the arch, and the Vices, Virtues and Seasons in the jambs, and the remainder are carved with foliage. Inside the porch, on either hand, are wall arcades resting on stone seats, and above, in semi-circular panels, are sculptured the twelve apostles, seated, six a side, with a flying angel above their heads bearing a scroll. The inner doorway to the church is as rich as the outer arch, but is of only three members; but the head is filled with a tympanum on which is carved Our Lord in Glory, supported on either side by a censing angel.

The original west front was in the form of a screen, richly panelled, and with large turrets at the ends, somewhat in the manner afterwards followed at Salisbury. The central tower, carried by four semi-circular arches, was in the first place an open lantern, having the inside richly panelled, of which a fragment of the first stage remains over the western arch. A small part of the presbytery and transept is attached to the north-east pier of the crossing, and shows that those parts of the church were similar in character to the nave, except that the presbytery was vaulted in the main span from the first. The west side of the transepts had three stages of windows, agreeing with the three divisions of the nave walls, the middle of which had a wall passage.

The alterations of the fourteenth century to the nave consisted in remodelling the clerestory by the insertion of three light traceried windows in each bay,[1] covering the main span with a lierne vault, and putting flying buttresses for support over the aisles. The nave and aisle walls on the south side were finished by an openwork

[1] The eastern bay has windows of only two lights so as to give extra support to the tower. The first three bays from the crossing were merely remodelled, but the remainder were entirely rebuilt in the clerestory stage.

Malmesbury Abbey—South Porch.

traceried parapet. The outer walls of the porch were thickened, a parvise added, and the walls finished with a parapet continuous with that of the aisle. A large three-light window was inserted in the third bay of the aisle on the north, to give light to one of the flanking chapels of the nave altar, and two other large windows were put in the south wall to light the retro-quire. The vaulting of the crossing was begun, but not finished till later, when the ornamental panelling of the lantern was walled up.

Of the square tower added over the two western bays, the springer of the arch to take its east face remains on the south above the vaulting, together with one of a series of flying buttresses across the aisle to take its thrust. The triforium under the tower was built up solid, a flying arch put across the third bay, and the arcade arch below was strengthened. A great window was inserted in the west wall at the same time.

A fine effigy of a king on a simple altar tomb, now placed in the first arch on the south side, is of early fifteenth century date, and is said by tradition to represent King Athelstane. It had the head broken off by the Rebels in the Civil War, but so great a respect had the townsfolk for their benefactor that it was promptly mended.

The internal arrangements of the nave are clearly indicated, the eastern bay was occupied by the *pulpitum*, a gallery separating the choir from the nave in monastic churches, from whence the epistles and gospels were sung on holy days, and supported on two screens. The eastern one remains, and bears badges of Henry VII., with the royal arms over the quire door. The other screen has been destroyed across the middle of the nave, but remains in either aisle where it is of elegant open tracery work. At the third pair of pillars was the rood screen, with the nave altar in front, and in the aisles on either side was a chapel. In the triforium above, on the south side, is a curious corbelled-out stone box of fourteenth century date, that

probably contained a pair of organs for the nave services. Over the south aisle for six bays from the west was a long room with flat roof added in the fifteenth century for the library which occupies the same position at Worcester and Norwich.

For many years the church has caused anxiety owing to the dangerous condition of the flying buttresses and the ruined part at the west end, but in 1899 an influential committee was formed under the chairmanship of the Bishop of the diocese, to carry out a thorough system of repair. The writer of this article was appointed architect for the work, and after four years continuous work the fabric may now be said to be in a sound condition, except the fifth and sixth bay of the nave vault, which, being constructed in lath and plaster about 1836, has decayed, and is in anything but a safe state.

The cloister was rebuilt and vaulted in stone in the fifteenth century, and the south-east bay is traceable against the nave wall. The original procession doorway was lessened by a new one being built within, over which, in the thickness of the wall, is a fan-vaulted ceiling.

The "Abbey House," a picturesque structure of the beginning of the seventeenth century, supposed to have been built by one of the Stump family, retains as a cellar on the north side part of a late thirteenth century subvault, beneath what was originally the monks' dorter.

The "Bell Hotel," at the west end of the church, has ancient walls, and was probably one of the guest houses. In the north wall is a three-light thirteenth century window.

At the head of the High Street is the market cross mentioned by Leland, and is the least disfigured of any like structure in the kingdom by so-called restoration. The "Green Dragon Inn," just behind, is an old house, and has a little ogee-headed window of fourteenth century date in the front chimney breast.

The chancel of St. Paul's Church, except the south wall

incorporated in the back of some houses and retaining two blocked fifteenth century windows, was pulled down about the middle of the last century. The tower and spire, of the fourteenth century, remain and form the belfry of the present church.

In the suburb of Westport is a church of St. Mary, erected in comparatively recent times on the site of an ancient structure which had good glass in the windows in the seventeenth century. The old font is preserved.

The town bridge of Leland's time has been succeeded by a new one, but near by are some old almshouses, retaining in the gable towards the street some late twelfth century work that appears to have come from the abbey. The hall of the almshouses is used by the old Corporation of Athelstane's Commoners, where is preserved a pair of beautiful old maces and other relics of past ceremony.

There were, anciently, chapels at Burnivale, Burton Hill and Whitchurch, but all have been removed, and no vestige of them remains.

HAROLD BRAKSPEAR.

LITERARY ASSOCIATIONS

IT is curious that of all the men of letters born in the county, there is no one, if we except Richard Jefferies, who is strongly local, racy of the soil. Wiltshire is nothing to them, and they are nothing to Wiltshire; their connection with their native place was slight, its scenery never entered into their blood, to give a special colour to their lives and life-work. But there has been a number of "migrants" who have been attracted to the two literary centres of the county, Wilton and Bowood, and who, if the principle on which Fuller has arranged his worthies is to hold good, "*Non ubi nascor sed ubi pascor*," may be numbered among the county's literary associations.

With the reign of Elizabeth, Wilton, the first and greatest of these centres, is linked by many interesting figures. Here, or, according to Aubrey, in a small house in the neighbouring village of Ivychurch in which the Countess "much delighted," Sidney wrote his well-known *Arcadia*, done in loose sheets of paper, most of it in his sister's presence, and to this period may doubtless be referred his poem in disfavour of a courtly life.[1] Wilton, and the adjacent country, was "an Arcadian place and a paradise," and "these romancy plaines and boscages," about Vernditch and Wilton, writes Aubrey, "did no doubt conduce to the hightening of Sir Philip Sydney's phansie. He lived much in these parts, and his most

[1] Early in January, 1580, Sidney incurred the Queen's anger. For six months he was excluded from her presence. Retiring to Wilton, or according to Aubrey, to the neighbouring village of Ivychurch, he engaged with his sister in literary work.

masterly touches of his pastoralls he wrote here upon the spott where they were conceived. 'Twas about these purlieus that the muses were wont to appeare to Sir Philip Sydney, and where he wrote down their dictates in his table book, though on horseback. I remember some old relations of mine, and others, old men hereabout, that have seen Sir Philip doe this."

But while Arcadia of the delightful prospects, with its hills which "garnished their proud heights with stately trees, humble valleys whose base estate seemed comforted with the refreshing of silver rivers," might be the vague scene of any pastoral, "Wilton faire,"[1] and the coursing on the downs, "Wilton sweet,"[2] with its neighbouring mighty stone circle, is named in his poems with an intimate accent of affection.

One is reminded by the paintings in the drawing-room at Wilton that the *Arcadia* was written to please his sister, the Countess of Pembroke, who had, perhaps, a spark of her brother's divine fire, and is described by Meres as "a most delicate poet." Sir John Harington declared that her own and her brother's translations of the Psalms would "outlast Wilton walls," but she is perhaps better known from her liberality to poets. In her time Wilton House was like a college.[3] By her Samuel Daniel[4] was first encouraged and "framed to Rhime"—Wilton was his "best school." Spenser, on Sidney's introduction, was received here; here Shakespeare played in 1603 before the King; while his patron, the Earl of

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1 So on the Downs we see near Wilton faire
A hastn'd hare from greedie grayhound goe.

2 Near Wilton sweet, huge heaps of stone are found,
But so confused that neither any eye
Can count them first, nor reason try
What force them brought to so unlikely ground.

3 Aubrey, *Brief Lives.*

4 Samuel Daniel lived with William, third Earl of Pembroke, at Wilton House, "and in his old age," writes Fuller, "he turned husbandman, and rented a farm in Wiltshire near to Devizes." The farm was called "Ridge," and was situated near Beckington.

Pembroke, the "most universally loved and esteemed of any man of his age," the Hamlet of the Court of James I., wrote some inconsiderable verse.[1] Little is known of Philip Massinger, as of the lives of most of his contemporaries, who lived before the days of exhaustive biography, but what little we do know is that he was born at Wilton the son of a "servant" (whatever the precise meaning of the word) attached to the household of Henry, Earl of Pembroke. Whatever his relations[2] with the Herbert family may have been, it has been pointed out that Massinger probably sympathised with the political views represented by the two sons of his father's patron, who were successively Earls of Pembroke during the reign of the first James and Charles. A single local allusion is no doubt to be found in his *New Way to Pay Old Debts*, where the bitter and tenacious Sir Giles Overreach, "a cruel extortioner," the leading character, is said to have been drawn from Sir Giles Mompesson,[3] a Wiltshire gentleman; the play, indeed, was written soon after Mompesson's signal fall and flight.[4]

Tisbury,[5] not far from Wilton, is the birthplace of Sir John Davies, an Elizabethan poet, the forerunner of the school of "metaphysical ingenuity and argumentative imagination," who was suddenly silenced by the admiration

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1 In 1660, the younger Donne edited and published poems written by the Right Honourable William, Earl of Pembroke, Lord Steward of Her Majesty's Household, etc. A few of the poems undoubtedly by Pembroke are signed "P."

2 In the Dedication of the *Bondman*, Massinger speaks of his desire "to make a tender of all duties and service to the noble family of the Herberts descended to me as an inheritance from my dead father, Arthur Massinger. Many years he happily spent in the service of your honourable house, and died a servant to it."

3 1584-1651. Sir Giles was the son of Thomas Mompesson, of Bathampton.

4 March 3rd, 1620-1.

5 The allusion to his native Wiltshire is to be found in Sir John Davies' address to the "Ladyes of Founthill" (Fonthill):—

Ladyes of Founthill, I am come to seeke
My hart amongst you which I late did leese.

James[1] conceived for his judgment in practical affairs, and henceforth absorbed in politics. His wife's mind seems to have been darkened with insanity of a very voluble type, and Aubrey writes of her as a "Prophetess or rather Witch, who was kept Prisoner in the Tower for her seditious practices," and whose anagram of her own name—"Reveal O Daniel"—was capped by Lamb, Dean of the Arches, by "Never so mad a ladie."

It is curious that so many places, amply historical, centre round Wilton. On the Wilton road is Bemerton, the village with "the good and more pleasant than healthful parsonage," where George Herbert "lived his gentle life and meditated his pious acrostics." The small church he restored is still standing by the riverside, and on the front of the parsonage, where an aged fig tree on the wall and a medlar tree are said to be of his planting, is the following inscription, which he composed:—

If thou chance for to find
A new house to thy mind,
And built without thy cost,
Be good to the poor
As God gives thee store,
And then my labour's not lost.

Those who still read Walton's *Lives* will remember that over the road from Bemerton to Salisbury, "a mile of holy ground," Herbert used to walk twice a week to hear the music in Salisbury Cathedral, and to take part in those little music parties among his friends of which Walton gives us such charming glimpses, for "his chiefest recreation was music, in which heavenly art he was a most excellent master, and did himself compose many Divine Hymns and Anthems, which he set or sung to his lute or viol"—a talent which is not reflected in the broken music of his verse.

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[1] James, on hearing that Davies was the author of *Nosce Teipsum*, "embraced him and conceived a considerable liking to him" (Wood, *Athenæ*. ii., p. 401).

Herbert's biographer, the gentle "piscator" Izaak Walton, paid frequent visits to his son, another Isaac, at Poulshot and Salisbury. "Perhaps in these retired places, so conducive to study, he composed or revised those charming biographies, so admirably simple, sweet and clear in style, of the two famous Wiltshire clergymen, the judicious Hooker and the saintly George Herbert, meditating, perchance, on their lives, as he wandered rod in hand along the banks of the Avon or Itchen."[1]

Overshadowed by Herbert is a later divine and poet, John Norris,[2] also rector of Bemerton, where he says that his clear income was little more than seventy pounds a year, and that the world ran "strait and hard with him." He is commemorated by a tablet in the church bearing the words *Bene latuit.*

A contrast to these pious shades is Hobbes (the son of an ignorant parish priest of Westport), a very imposing figure, who has but little place however in the history of literature. Aubrey, a personal friend of his, who did "his best to anticipate Boswell, though his aspirations fell short of success," gives a glimpse of Hobbes' person:—

> This summer, 1634 (I remember it was the venison season, July or August), Mr. Thomas Hobbes came into his native country to visit his friends, and among others he came to see his old schoolmaster, Mr. Latimer, at Leigh Delamere. He (Hobbes) was a proper man, briske, in very good equipage; his hair was then quite black;

adding that though he left his native country at fourteen, and lived long, "sometimes one might find a little touch of our pronunciation."

Among the writers of the eighteenth century, two famous, as well as a number of forgotten, names are associated with Wiltshire. Gay, championed by "Sa Singularité," the Duchess of Queensberry, in the matter of his second ballad-opera in such a way as to procure her own exile from Court, was kept at her country-

1 *Izaak Walton and His Connection with Wilts.* (A. Schomberg).
2 1657-1711.

house at Amesbury, where a cave or artificial stone room, in the centre of a high bank, overlooking the Avon, cut into a fantastic shape, and known as the Diamond, is said to have been the study where Gay wrote the book of the *Beggar's Opera*. It is curious to note that the least poetical of poets—those of the eighteenth century—loved to surround themselves "with the picturesque paraphernalia of inspiration, and Gay, with this cave of his, like Shenstone with his grottoes, naturally belonged to the age which built sham ruins in its gardens."

Near Amesbury was born Joseph Addison,[1] the son of Lancelot Addison, rector of Milston. At Amesbury he was first sent to school; and here probably met with his first recorded adventure. It is told that after some boyish fault he ran away from school, and took sanctuary in a hollow tree, maintaining himself as he could till he was discovered and brought home.[2] Though Addison was no writer of pastorals, and limited by his century in his perception of natural beauty, it was doubtless the recollection of the scenery in which his childhood was passed—the open downland, "relieved by no shadows except such as are thrown by the passing cloud, the grazing sheep; the Avon, like all streams rising in the chalk, clear and peaceful"—that suggested his paraphrase of the twenty-third Psalm:—

> The Lord my pasture shall prepare,
> And feed me with a shepherd's care.
> When on the sultry glebe I faint,
> Or on the thirsty mountain pant,
> To fertile vales and dewy meads
> My weary wandering steps He leads,
> Where peaceful rivers, soft and slow,
> Amid the verdant landscape flow.

An attempt has also been made by Mr. Duke[3] to

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1 At Milston, May 1st, 1672.

2 He was removed from Amesbury to Salisbury, and thence to the Grammar School at Lichfield.

3 *Reflections on the Character and Doings of the Sir Roger de Coverley, of Addison* (R. E. H. Duke, 1900).

identify Addison's Sir Roger de Coverley, "a gentleman of Worcestershire," with a Richard Duke of Bulford House (close to Milston), who must have been a well-known figure in Addison's boyhood; and it is claimed that the generalised and scanty references to the county round Sir Roger's seat fit in well with the surroundings of Bulford.

A shadow of Addison, "a good humble-spirited man, a great admirer of Mr. Addison, but a poor writer," John Hughes,[1] was born in Marlborough. Swift writes of him, unforgettably, that he "is among the *mediocribus* in prose as well as verse";[2] and he appears among the figures which cross the stage like dim and ghostly apparitions in Johnson's *Lives of the Poets*, and whose faded memories it would be a useless task to revive.[3] A few thin volumes preserve such of their lucubrations as themselves, or their friends, thought worthy of print. They are, as Horace Walpole called Shenstone, "water-gruel bards."

Among the most irrecoverable poets Blackmore is remembered from his sheer bulk,[4] and because his lot has been "to be much oftener mentioned by enemies than by friends," to have been the by-word among poets, the best-attacked man of a pugnacious period, the successor to the leaden crown of Flecknoe.[5] The praise accorded by Addison and Steele for the religious tone of his work is drowned by Gay's contempt for the man—

> Who ne'er was, nor will be half-read,
> Who first sang Arthur, and then Alfred;
> Praised great Eliza in God's anger
> Till all true Englishmen cried, "Hang her"!

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1 1677-1720. He was the author of a very successful tragedy, the *Siege of Damascus*.

2 Pope answers: "What he wanted as to genius he made up as an honest man, but he was of the class you think him."

3 Such was George Keate, 1730-1797.

4 Sir Richard Blackmore, 1688-1729, born at Corsham. Johnson writes that the worst that could be said of him as a man was that he had been once a schoolmaster!

5 Swift.

Blackmore was one of the few poets who have been knighted, and Pope suggests that William III. had the bad taste to admire his poetry; but as a matter of fact the honour was in consequence of Blackmore's distinction in medicine. The knight bears witness to William's insensibility to poetry; with the king "the mere poet met with small respect."

Stephen Duck, a poet from the barn, the thresher-laureate patronised by Queen Charlotte, author of one thin volume of faded pastorals of the "purling stream" school, is as forgotten as any other unduly elevated peasant poet, except, perhaps, at his native Charlton, where, to commemorate Duck's rise, a Lord Palmerston, in 1734, by deed gave a small piece of land in Rushall for the benefit of the threshers of Charlton. A field for which it was exchanged in 1804 is still called Duck's Acre, and the rent is paid in a dinner annually given on the first of June to the threshers of the parish.[1]

It is a relief to turn from these "old, unhappy, far-off" poets whose verses have left no echo, to a master of prose, Hazlitt, and to his Winterslow on the downs, the place of almost sinister loneliness which he chose for his retreat, and where some of his finest work was done. His connection with Winterslow dates from his first marriage (1808), when he settled in one of the cottages belonging to his wife, who had inherited a small property there. His feeling for the place is commemorated in several passages in his works, and he took especial pleasure in walks through the neighbouring woods of Norman Court. From the autumn of 1819, though living apart from his wife, he often came back to Winterslow, staying at "The Hutt" (or the "Pheasant Inn"), an old,

[1] The preface to Duck's verses tells us Duck frequently carried the *Spectators* to his work. "When he did so, his method was to work harder than anybody else that he might get half an hour to read a *Spectator* without injuring his master. By this means he used to sit down all over sweat and heat without regarding his own health and often to the prejudice of it."

lonely, and now very dilapidated coaching inn. Here his farewell to essay writing was written; and here he loved to "watch the clouds sailing from the west and fancy that the spring comes slowly up this way." "In this hope," he writes, "while 'fields are dark, and ways are mire,' I follow the same direction to a neighbouring wood, where having gained the dry, level greensward, I can see my way for a mile before me, closed on each side by a copse-wood, and ending in a point of light more or less brilliant, as the day is bright or cloudy." Here, though there were "neither galleries nor theatres royal on Salisbury plain," after a long walk through unfrequented tracks, often starting the hare from the fern, and hearing the wing of the raven rustling above his head, he could take his ease at his inn, and with a few old authors get through the summer and winter months without ever knowing what it is to feel *ennui*.

Though Hazlitt took sanctuary in the solitudes, a literary centre was then to be found at Bowood. It was Moore who wrote that without Lord and Lady Lansdowne Wiltshire was a *mare mortuum;* and at the wish of Lord Lansdowne he came to live at Sloperton Cottage,[1] near Bowood, where he died in 1852. Crabbe, too, was drawn into the Bowood circle, and it was the fashion to toast him with William Lisle Bowles of Bremhill and Moore as the Wiltshire poets. Crabbe, though not a Wiltshire man by birth, spent the last eighteen years of his life in the county; and it was at Trowbridge, the "busy populous cloathing town (sent thither by ambition and the Duke of Rutland)," that he found time for "another book of rhymes—a leave-taking of his poetical readers." This was the *Tales of the Hall*, in which (perhaps owing to his Trowbridge experiences) he no longer describes the manners of the village; but a people "of superior classes,

1 In 1817, it was "a cottage of gentility," with two gateways and pretty grounds round it, in delightful country. In the garden is a raised walk running its whole length, and bounded by a hedge of laurel—the favourite walk of the poet. It was in the open air he used to say that his mind worked more freely.

though not the *most* elevated."[1] It is a curious instance of the strength of early impressions that though written in Wiltshire, the Tales have everywhere the colour of his Suffolk[2] home, and the sea is not far off. Wandering in the quarries near Trowbridge he found a new interest—rocks and fossils became to him what weeds and flowers had been; and he would spend hours hammer in hand—not much pleased if anyone interrupted him. His note-book was always with him, and he would every now and then lay down his hammer to insert a new or amended line. His coolness in an election riot,[3] and his plain-spoken courage is still remembered at Trowbridge, where he was heard to preach a funeral sermon on George IV. from the text—"the sting of death is sin."

With these more or less derivate and literary writers it is impossible to class Richard Jefferies, the peculiarity of whose genius was not derived from any school or race of literary men. Jefferies is the genius of the place, for *tout paysage est un état d'âme;* and the possessor of something that had never found expression before. It is the "sublime sameness" of Coate that 'reminds you of the stars that rise and set regularly just as we go to bed down here,' that lives in his books, and let the nominal scene be where it may, it is of Coate and its surroundings that they tell. So much so, that "those who know the locality as it was twenty or thirty years ago would probably iden-

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1 Trowbridge, 30th, October, 1817.

2 An autumn scene might be excepted:—

> Long yellow leaves, from oziers, strew'd around,
> Choked the small stream, and hush'd the feeble sound;
> While the dead foliage dropp'd from loftier trees.

3 At Trowbridge, "A riotous, tumultuous and most appalling mob at the time of the election besieged his house when a chaise was at the door to prevent his going to the poll and giving his vote in favour of John Benett, of Pyt House. The mob threatened to destroy the chaise and tear him in pieces, if he attempted to set out. In the face of the furious assemblage he came out calmly, told them they might kill him if they chose, but whilst alive, nothing should prevent his giving a vote at the election . . . and set off undisturbed and unhurt to vote."—*Life of Crabbe.* Ainger.

tify every field, every mound, every tree, in these pages." The short cut across the fields by which he was accustomed to walk from Coate to the office of the Swindon paper is still shown; and the cottage of "the Gamekeeper at Home"; and within sight of the farmhouse are the downs with their grassy mounds and trenches of ancient forts or "castles," "a vast desert of hill and plain, silent save for the tinkle of a sheep-bell, or in the autumn the moaning hum of a distant threshing machine rising and falling in the wind," where, lying on the turf, he watched the way of the hawk in the air, and the rabbits in their burrows. Within a walk from his home are the strongholds of Barbury Hill and Liddington Hill; Wayland's Smith's forge lies to the east of Coate, while in another direction are Avebury, Wansdyke, the Grey Wethers of Marlborough, and the ancient forest of "shadeful" Savernake.

Richard Jefferies presently left Coate, but all through his life it was clear and distinct as if he had left it half-an-hour before. In the last paper he wrote, two months before his death, his memory goes back to the hamlet where he was born, abiding entire in his memory, with all its own accidents, its habits, its breath, its very name.

M. JOURDAIN.

CLARENDON, THE HISTORIAN

ONE of the most famous of Wiltshire names is that of the historian of the Rebellion, Edward Hyde, first Earl of Clarendon and Lord Chancellor of England, the grandfather of two regnant English Queens.

The old baptismal register of Dinton, or Donyngton, in the beautiful Nadder valley, contains this entry:—

> The sixth year of the reign of our most gracious Sovereign Lord King James, Ann. Dom. 1608. In this year, the two and twentye day of ffebruary,[1] Henry Hide of Dinton, Gent, had a son christened named Edward.

The Hydes, who belonged to the middle gentry—"an antient and gentile family" (Wood)—had been seated at Norbury, or Northbury, in Cheshire, from the time of Henry III., in whose reign Sir Robert de la Hyde married Agnes de Herdislee, cousin and heiress of Thomas de Norbury.[2] The connexion with Wiltshire seems to have begun in the time of the Chancellor's great-grandfather, Robert Hyde of Norbury, whose first wife was one Margaret Hollard of Dinton. Clarendon, in his autobiography, does not mention this circumstance, but only that his grandfather, Laurence (a son of Robert Hyde by his union, *secundis nuptiis*, with Katharine Boydell of Pomcrofts), was employed in the affairs of Sir John

1 He was born on February 18th, 1609 (N.S.). The second Earl thought the date was February 16th. See Aubrey, *Brief Lives*, ed. Rev. A. Clark, i., 426. So also Wood.

2 In Ormond's *History of Cheshire*, vol. iii., p. 394, there is a pedigree of Norbury and Hyde. Lister (*Life and Administration of Edward, Earl of Clarendon*, 1838) points out that Lord Clarendon inaccurately speaks of Norbury as having been in his family since the Conquest.

Thynne, then steward to the Duke of Somerset. This Laurence Hyde married two ladies from the neighbourhood in succession—Mary, daughter of William Hartgill, and Anne, daughter of Nicholas Sibell, of Chimbhams, Kent, and relict of Matthew Colhurst of Claverton, near Bath. We find him holding, of the Duchy of Lancaster, a farm in Gussage St. Michael, Dorset, in the time of Edward VI. and Elizabeth; but shortly after his second marriage he purchased the manor of West Hatch, or Hacche, and here he died. His fine brass is to be seen within the altar-rails in Tisbury Church, thus inscribed:—

Here lyeth the bodye of Laurence Hyde late of West Hatch Esquyer who had issue by Anne his wyfe sixe sonnes and foure daughters and dyed the vijth day of June in the yeare of the Incarnation of our Lord God 1590. Beati qui moriuntur in Domino.

The Hyde arms were differenced with a mullet sable on a chevron till the Earl of Clarendon. The Sibell arms on the brass are a leopard statant looking at itself in a mirror—being thus stayed, according to the tale, from pursuit.

Four sons and four daughters were born of this union, the third son being Henry, the father of the subject of this memoir. To encourage him to settle down after his father's death, June 7th, 1590, by a family arrangement a lease for lives of the rectory (*i.e.*, rectorial tithes) of Dinton was settled upon him and his future bride, and his choice fell, in 1597, upon Mary, one of the daughters and heirs of Henry Langford of Trowbridge, "by whom in present, and after her mother, he had a good fortune in the account of that age." The Langfords were an armigerous family,[1] which seems to dispose of a legend

[1] At St. Martin's, New Sarum, there is a noble alms-dish, originally perhaps a rose-water dish, with the hall-mark of 1662; engraved in the centre is a shield quarterly, 1 and 4 a chevron between three lozenges, for Hyde, 2 and 3 on a paly of six a bend, for Langford, charged with an inescutcheon, St. George's cross. Above is an earl's coronet. Hyde was created Earl in 1661. This dish was presented to the church by Mrs. Alice Denham in 1686. I am indebted for this note to Mr. T. H. Baker, of Salisbury.

EDWARD HYDE, FIRST EARL OF CLARENDON.

that Mistress Langford, great-grandmother of two Sovereigns, filled a humble position in a London inn, though born in Trowbridge in a house which stood on the site of the present Conservative Club. Henry Hyde also bought land at Pirton, near Wootton Bassett. Hatch had gone to Henry's half-brother John, representing the elder branch, and then to his own uterine brother Robert, who sold it, about 1641, to Benett, Prince Rupert's secretary.[1]

As a bachelor Henry Hyde had been—what was unusual in Elizabethan days except for soldiers and merchants—addicted to foreign travel, and had even ventured, under Cardinal Allen's protection, to pay a protracted visit to Rome. But after marrying, his son tells us:—

> He lived a private life at Dinton aforesaid, with great cheerfulness and content, and with a general reputation throughout the whole country; being a person of great knowledge and reputation, and of so great esteem for integrity that most persons near him referred all matters of contention and difference which did arise amongst them to his determination; by which, that part of the country lived in more peace and quietness than many of their neighbours. During the time of Queen Elizabeth he served as a burgess for some neighbour boroughs in many parliaments; but from the death of Queen Elizabeth he never was in London, though he lived above thirty years after; and his wife, who was married to him above forty years, never was in London in her life: the wisdom and frugality of that time being such that few gentlemen made journeys to London, or other expensive journeys, but upon important business, and their wives never. By which providence they enjoyed and improved their estates in the country, and kept good hospitality in their houses, brought up their children well, and were beloved by their neighbours. And in this rank and with this reputation this gentleman lived till he was seventy years of age.

Of his eight children, the third, Edward, was born at Dinton, as we have seen, February 18th, $160\frac{8}{9}$. Some have supposed that he was born at the old glebe house, his father being lay rector of Dinton. But more probably the birthplace of Lord Clarendon was a house which stood

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1 The tradition that three Queens have been at Hatch may refer to some visit by the Duke of York, accompanied by his Duchess and daughters.

about a hundred yards south-east of the present vicarage, which is a handsome early eighteenth century building. A little yew tree which used to mark the site was cut down by Dr. Linton, a former incumbent. The advowson and rectorial tithes were left by one of the Hydes to Magdalen College, Oxford, the present patrons. Mention should here be made of an Elizabethan residence in Dinton called Clarendon House, or Little Clarendon.[1] The present vicar[2] informs me that enquiry among the old inhabitants appears to shew that the former name was only given to the house some twenty-five years ago. Mr. Doran Webb, who has skilfully restored it, tells me that it was called "The Steps." It was, however, a Hyde property, and the historian possibly may have lived there.[3]

Clarendon tells us that he

> . . . Was always bred in his father's house, under the care of a schoolmaster to whom his father had given the vicarage of that parish, who had bred many good scholars; and this person [himself], principally by the care and conversation of his father (who was an excellent scholar, and took pleasure in conferring with him, and contributed much more to his education than the school did), was thought fit to be sent to the university soon after he was thirteen years of age; and, being the younger son of a younger brother, was to expect a small patrimony from his father, but to make his own fortune by his own industry.

In spite of a mandate from King James to the President of Magdalen, young Hyde was not elected to a demyship till it was too late to be of use to him; for he had been "designed to the clergy"; but his elder brother, Henry, dying, his father changed his mind, and entered Edward, in 1625, being then aged sixteen, of the Middle Temple, of which society his uncle Nicholas, afterwards Lord Chief Justice, had been made treasurer by Buckingham. In consequence of a fit of quartan ague, Edward Hyde retired for a year to Pirton, near Wootton Bassett, where his father had now fixed his residence, and

1 This house now belongs to E. H. Engleheart, Esq.
2 The Rev. John Heslop Audland.
3 See *Some Old Wiltshire Houses*, S. J. Elyard, 1894.

where a house still exists exhibiting the Hyde arms. And there, in 1629, "calling home all straggling and wandering appetites," he espoused Anne, daughter of Sir George Ayliffe of Gretenham, Wilts., a slip of the St. John stock of Lydiard Tregoze, near by,[1] and a kinswoman of the murdered Duke of Buckingham. But, alas! within six months he was left a widower of twenty. "He bore her loss with so great passion and confusion of spirit, that it shook all the frame of his resolutions; and nothing but his entire duty and reverence to his father kept him from giving over all thoughts of books and transporting himself beyond the seas to enjoy his own melancholy." After three years, however, he contracted a new union, July 13th, 1634, with Frances, daughter of Sir Thomas Aylesbury, Buckingham's secretary, and then Master of Requests. A few months later his honoured and loved father died suddenly at Salisbury, where he had chosen a place of sepulture in the cathedral. He had immediately before, according to Burnet, while walking with his son in the fields, charged him, if ever he attained to eminence in his profession, not to stretch law or prerogative against liberty.

In December of this year, 1634, Edward Hyde was made Keeper of the Writs of the Common Pleas. In 1640, having already made his mark, he took his seat in the Short Parliament as burgess for Wootton Bassett, though he was elected also for Shaftesbury.

No attempt will be made to sketch in anything but barest outline the rise to greatness and final fall and death in exile of this eminent man. I have dwelt rather on his connection with Wiltshire, whither he fled for two summer months, every year, from the dusty purlieus of the law.

The Short Parliament lasted for three weeks only; and it was as member for Saltash that Hyde sat in the Long, which did its best to become the Eternal, Parliament. He attacked certain bureaucratic encroachments, and for a

[1] Lister, misled by the name, places Lydiard Tregoze in Cornwall.

while was regarded as a rising hope of the popular party. On the other hand he had partly owed his rise to the discernment, exercised in so many other cases, of Archbishop Laud, for whose virtues and abilities he tells us he had ever an extraordinary reverence, and who encouraged the young layman in an affectionate and candid criticism of himself. Yet the real cause of Hyde's separating himself from the popular leaders was his constitutional temper, coupled with an ardent devotion to the Church of England. It soon became manifest that Pym, Cromwell, Fiennes and the others were bent, not on reform, but on revolution; for without control of the militia the King would be no king; without Episcopacy the Church would be no church.

An inheritance from the masterful Tudors of a hitherto almost untrammelled personal sovereignty, and a revived supernaturalism which invested kingship with a mystical reflection of divinity, on the one hand; on the other, the new ideas unchained by the Reformation running like a mill-race towards liberty and rights of man, feebly pent back by James I., and now ready to overwhelm the throne of his conscientious but irresolute successor; "Thorough" met by "Root and Branch";—such was the condition of the British monarchy at the time that Hyde began his political career. Yet it seemed to him a state of halcyon calm:—

> Three kingdoms flourishing in entire peace and universal plenty, in danger of nothing but their own surfeits; the King's strong fleets commanding all seas; the numerous shipping of the nation bringing the trade of the world into his ports; and all these blessings enjoyed under a prince of the greatest clemency and justice, and of the greatest piety and devotion, and the most indulgent to his subjects, and most solicitous for their happiness and prosperity.
>
> *O fortunati nimium, bona si sua norint!*

Within two years of this "blessed conjuncture," England was torn with fratricidal strife. If a wise statesmanship could have averted other causes of civil war, it is difficult to see how any compromise could have been

arrived at on the most burning subject of dispute—the Church of England. Between the religious principles of Milton, Cromwell and Vane, and the idea of a reformed branch of the Catholic family, continuous with the Church of Alfred and the Confessor, there could be no common term. In that age no question of a live-and-let-live toleration arose. Whichever ideal got the mastery would impose itself on the entire nation.

It was the Church question which converted the assailant of Strafford into the devoted servant of a prince who, in whatever else he wavered, never vacillated in his defence of those apostolical principles of historic Christianity for which he finally laid down his life. Hyde remained a constitutionalist among royalists; but as the King's confidential adviser, with Falkland and Culpepper, he urged an "obstinate resolution" on the vital matters in dispute. In return the parliamentary leaders excepted him by name from any grace or favour that might be shewn to others. The masterly State papers with which the King replied to the parliamentary manifestoes were chiefly from his pen.

In 1643 Hyde, now Chancellor of the Exchequer and a knight, advised the calling of the Oxford Parliament, and next year was a Commissioner for the Treaty of Uxbridge. The King wished to raise him still higher. He wrote in an intercepted letter to the Queen—"I must make Ned Hyde Secretary of State; for the truth is I can trust nobody else." Hyde refused the offer, but his rapid promotion excited against him many jealousies.

In March, 1645, he was sent to Bristol in care of the Prince of Wales. A year later, against his better judgment, the party left the shores of England, which Hyde did not see again till the Restoration, and retired first to Scilly and then to Jersey, whence the Queen required her son to come to her in France, July, 1646. Hyde remained behind—"there is not light enough for me to see my way, and I cannot walk in the dark." He feared also

lest the King should concede too much to the rebel army. "Take heed," he wrote, "of removing landmarks and destroying foundations. Either no peace can be made or it must be upon the old foundations of government in Church and State." In Jersey, encouraged by the King, be began to compile the immortal history, "spoiling much paper upon the stock of an ill memory" he told Nicholas. "I wrote with all fidelity and freedom of persons and things, so that you will believe it will make mad work among friends and foes if it were published."

In June, 1648, the weary tragedy then drawing to its close, he repaired, urgently bidden, to his beloved master's wife and son. His letters from Paris and the Hague are a monotonous record of want and trouble.[1] "*Les rois en exil*" were very much out at elbows. Charles' seal and James' George and Garter were in pawn. Hyde writes that he has not one cardicue in the world, "yett we keep up our spirits." But he was so cold he could not hold his pen; and besides the Secretary of State grudged the Chancellor of the Exchequer his postages. In the bitter January of 1649, Henrietta Maria was found by the Coadjutor by the bedside of the little Princess Royal, the baby born at Exeter, who had been brought over by Lady Morton disguised as a beggar boy. "You see I am keeping Henrietta company. The poor child cannot get up to-day for lack of a fire." She was then waiting for the awful tidings from Whitehall. The Coadjutor flew to the Parliament and poured forth his shame and horror that the daughter and granddaughter of Henri Quatre should suffer want within the Louvre itself.[2] As for Hyde and Ormonde, they lacked "even shoes and shirts."

Meanwhile malicious tales were told in England of the splendid and expensive way in which the Court and

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1 For a full account of these sad days see *The King in Exile*, by Eva Scott.

2 There is at Fonthill a painfully sad picture of "Queen Mary" (as she was styled in the Prayer Book) in her widowhood.

courtiers were living. But more intolerable than bodily privation were the intrigues and quarrels of which Hyde was the centre. "Oh, to be quiet and starve," he wrote, "were no unpleasant condition to what I endure." Henrietta Maria said he was "very honest, but loved her not." He stood "passionately" in the way of the young king's adoption of her faith, and of her policy, now renewed, of weakening the Church of England by throwing the monarchy into the arms of the Calvinists. There were other causes of deep anxiety about his young charge. "If I did not serve the King for God's sake and out of love to his dead father, I would not," he wrote, "stay here a day longer. I am mad and weary of my life." Then came the scandalous attack against him led by Sir Robert Long, who accused him of being in Oliver's pay—"a libell," the King hotly declared, "derogatory from my own honour and justice, and full of malice against Mr. Chancellor." Charles' good nature and affectionateness were exhibited on other occasions also. He now shewed his confidence in Hyde by making him Secretary of State, and then Lord Chancellor. But indolent predilection for the path of least resistance was ever uppermost in his character. And when, after the Restoration, intrigues again gathered round his faithful minister, now created Baron Hyde of Hindon, Viscount Cornbury, and Earl of Clarendon, Charles gave way at last to the importunity of the Commons, and suffered him, in 1667, to be banished the realm. He was fatigued by being lectured and schoolmastered. Clarendon's position also was a most delicate and difficult one as the voluntary or involuntary father-in-law of the Heir to the Throne. When he heard of his daughter Anne's secret espousals with the Duke of York, he declared that the axe ought to be her fate. Some historians think Clarendon was playing a part. But at any rate he was not supple enough for the times. He died at Rouen, December 9th, 1673, while engaged on his History. "As he was writing," says Aubrey, "the penne

fell out of his hand. He took it up again to write: it fell out again. So then he perceived he was attaqued by death, scilicet the dead palsey."

Clarendon's body, being brought to England, was interred on the north side of the Capella Regum in the Abbey. Other well-known members of his family rest in the south aisle of Salisbury Cathedral, such as his cousins, Bishop Alexander Hyde, who gave the fine silver-gilt lights now in the Lady Chapel; Sir Robert Hyde, Lord Chief Justice; Sir Henry Hyde, Ambassador to the Grand Seignior, who was beheaded by Cromwell; and Dean Edward Hyde. The canonical house in the Close with the initials R. H. on the cornice was partly rebuilt by Richard Hyde, a chaplain in the royal army, and subsequently Prebendary of Warminster and Sub-Dean. Other Hydes were connected with the Cathedral.

Charles II., in his exile, gave the historian a relation of his wanderings and escapes after Worcester fight. The Hydes had much to do with getting the King safely through Wiltshire. The priest's hole at Hele[1] is still shown where Mrs. Amphillis Hyde concealed the fugitive monarch by night. In the daytime he counted successfully the stones of Stonehenge. Laurence Hyde, of Hinton Daubnay, also helped to get Charles to Shoreham. One incident occurred at the house of Thomas Symons, whose

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[1] I am indebted to my friend, Mr. John Hammond, of Salisbury, for the following note:—

Lord Clarendon's uncle, Sir Lawrence Hyde [Attorney-General to Anne, Queen of James I.], acquired the manor of Hele from one Green; and, 42 Eliz., 1599, there is a grant to him of a fee farm rent of £22 issuing out of the manor. Sir Lawrence was succeeded in 1641 by his son Lawrence, who married Amphillis Tichbourne, and died *sine prole*. Hele House then passed to his brother, Serjeant Hyde (afterwards Sir Robert, and Chief Justice of Common Pleas), who owned it when Charles II. took refuge there; but his brother's widow continued in occupation. It passed out of the Hyde family by marriage of a Hyde with Dr. Levintz, Bishop of Sodor and Man, whose daughter inherited it. She married a certain Frampton, who, or whose issue, sold it to the Bowles family.

The above Sir Lawrence was father, by Barbara Castillion, to Bishop Alexander Hyde and ten other children.

wife, George Gounter's sister, had given refuge to the dangerous guests. Coming in rather fuddled, Symons found the party round his table, cried, "They are all Hydes"; and then, scrutinising the King, "Here is a Roundhead. I never knew thee, George, to keep Roundheads' company before." Then, stretching out his hand, "Brother Roundhead, for his sake thou are welcome." Charles played his part delightedly, and when Symons slipped out an oath, reproved him gravely—"Oh, dear brother, that is a scape. Swear not, I beseech thee."

The King, in his flight from Hele, passed Clarendon Park corner. The boundary of the royal forest of Clarendon began about halfway between Salisbury and Peter's Finger; along the Roman road to Winterslow gallows; thence by Whaddon to Longford Bridge; and so up all the course of the Avon to where the Bourne falls into it. It thus included, besides the present Clarendon Park, all Laverstock, Alderbury, Pitton, Farley, and part of Winterslow and Grinstead. The Palace stood on the spot now called King's Manor, where a piece of the gable end is left. Here the memorable Constitutions of Clarendon were accepted by Becket, who is said to have lodged in the Priory at Ivy Church. Besides Henry II. and Henry III., John was at Clarendon constantly, and an oak goes by his name. Here, too, Philip of Navarre did homage, in 1356, to Edward III. Richard II. hunted in Clarendon forest, as did Elizabeth. The Commonwealth sold it in lots.

In 1660 the Duke of Albemarle, the restorer of the Monarchy, received Clarendon demesne from the King; and though Hyde desired to purchase it, and even took his famous title from it, it descended to Monck's son, Christopher, who bequeathed it, in 1681, to his cousin John, Earl of Bath; and from his heirs it was purchased in 1713 by Benjamin Bathurst, in whose family it remained until 1900, when it became the property of J. W.

Garton, Esq.[1] According to Pepys, Hyde had some sort of mortgage or lien upon the forest for money advanced to the Crown.

Oxford retains the name of its great Chancellor in the famous Clarendon Press (originally lodged in the present Clarendon Building, erected in 1713 out of the profits of the copyright of the History) and in the Clarendon Laboratory built in 1868 out of the accumulated proceeds of the Hyde MSS., bequeathed to the University in 1753 by Henry Lord Cornbury, Clarendon's descendant. Politicians who address meetings in London's largest Park may sometimes remember the great Constitutionalist from whom it is named.

DOUGLAS MACLEANE.

P.S.—Since returning the above to the printers, I have been shewn, through the owner's kindness, a large packet of Hyde MSS. which have for a long time been in the possession of the family of a Wiltshire clergyman, and which are shortly to be disposed of, together with a large number of other historical papers, at Christie's. Of those which I have looked through, the most important appears to be the Chancellor's holograph draft of the Declaration issued from Breda a few weeks before the Restoration. It is dated from "Our Court at Breda, the $\frac{4}{14}$ day of Aprill, 1660." An earlier bundle, which I was not able to examine, appears from the dockett of Mr. Guthrie, who sold them to the Rev. Mr. (afterwards Bishop) Douglas, to contain an important correspondence about affairs in England between the death of Oliver Cromwell and the

[1] I am indebted for these notes on Clarendon to my uncle, the Rev. Canon R. S. Hutchings, so long vicar of Alderbury. He interprets "Petersfinger" as St. Peter-ad-Vincula, these being Lammas lands.

Restoration. I append, in the order in which they appear, one or two specimens:—

June 23, 1659, a letter from Broderic with News from London and informing of a Scheme of putting Fairfax at the head of a Rising, and of seizing the Triumvirate in a Room with 30 resolute men. Complains for want of a Cypher.

July 8, '59. Letter from Clark (Hancock), part in Cypher but decyphered, informing of the State and Divisions of the Royal Party in England. R. Cromwel inclines to correspond w^th^ the King thro Hancock.

D^o^, July 1^st^, 1659. Important Intelligence of the desperate State of affairs among the Antiroyalists. Their jarrings, and the obstinacy of the French Embassador. Vane projects a Union with Holand, and to be Stadholder. The King has spies upon him.

July 8^th^, 1658. Hancock. Intelligence. An anecdote of R. Cromwel. Vane suspected. Some Person of great Consequence incog: in England on the King's Part.

July 11 : 59, Letter Broderic, part in Cypher and under feigned names. Mr. Edmondson expected to land near Lyn. Heartburnings seem to prevail amongst the Royalists. Bussi Mansel brought over, but Shy.

July 22, 1659. Some blunder committed by a Welshman who had been trusted. The Government make discoveries. Complaints of Mr. Mordant.

July 7, 1657. Lord Falkland. He promises to raise 400 Horse in Oxfordshire and a Regiment of ffoot in Wiltshire.

Letters from the Chancellor to Mr. Aylesbury with regard to bringinge some considerable Persons to the Kings interest.

From the Chancellor to Mr. Touper. Partly in Cypher. Alarm'd with a Report that Mr. Marshe (the King) had ordered Lord Oxford, of whom the Chancellor gives a great Character, to receive orders from Mr. Mordaunt, whom Oxford despised and hated.

Another in Cypher, in which he says the Duke of Buckingham (?) expresses himself to be a most bitter enemy to Mr. Marshe. The same Duke called by the Earl of Oxford (?) the meanest Wretch of Men.

Besides the above are a great many Letters to and from the Chancellor, many upon Family affairs. Some of his Private Rentals of Perton, etc., and a great number of Accompts.

SALISBURY

LD SARUM existed in early British times, and from its central position on some six important roads became of military value to Claudius Cæsar, who fortified "Sorbiodunum," as it was then called, and gave it the privileges of Latian law along with nine other British cities.

Towards the end of the fifth century Sarum came into the hands of Cerdic and his son Cynric, Saxon invaders who settled in this neighbourhood with Wilton for their capital. Alfred, in the year 871, fought an indecisive battle at Wilton with the Danes, who, despite their defeat, encamped on the field of battle. He afterwards commanded Leofric, Earl of Wiltunscire, to preserve the castle of Sarum and make around it a second ditch defended by palisades, hence the Saxon character of the second ring.

Under the leadership of Sweyn the Danes destroyed Wilton in the year 1003, and seem also to have visited Sarum and pillaged it; yet they may not have entirely destroyed the city, as a few years later Editha, widow of Edward the Confessor, conferred the lands of Sheorston upon the Nuns of St. Mary at Sarum. The success of the Danes was due to the treachery of the Ealdorman Elfric, who received gifts from the Danes, to whom he gave information, and, pretending to be sick, refused to lead the Saxon forces. Sarum enjoyed the privilege of minting money in Saxon times.

The most important event in the history of Sarum was the removal of the bishop's seat hither from Sherborne

SALISBURY CATHEDRAL.

about the year 1075. This was effected under the decree of Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, permitting the removal of episcopal sees from obscure places to considerable towns, with the object of weakening the local and personal influence of the native Saxon priesthood.[1]

Some ten years later, in 1085, William the Conqueror held an assembly of prelates, nobles and sheriffs at Old Sarum. By obtaining from these the oath of fidelity and pledge of defence he introduced the feudal system into England. This assembly led to the preparation of the Domesday Book in the following year, in which Sarum was taxed for fifty hides "and of the third penny the king had twenty shillings by weight, and of the increase sixty pounds by tale," paid through the hands of the sheriff, who was at this time Edward of Salisbury, a member of the Devereux family.

Under Osmund, who succeeded to the see on the death of the first Bishop, Herman, the building of the cathedral proceeded apace. This Osmund, Lord of Seez in Normandy, came over with his uncle, the Conqueror, as a soldier, attained high honours and great possessions as Chancellor, a position he held for many years, then assumed the clerical garb and employed his wealth in building and endowing the cathedral of Sarum. His choir was acknowledged to be the finest in the land; and the book of Customs or Regulations for the performance of Divine Service, and of the duties of the Church in general, which he not only wrote, but bound and illuminated himself, was extensively used throughout England. On the fifth of April, 1092, assisted by Bishops Walkeline of Winchester and John of Bath, he consecrated his now

1 Originally the whole of Wessex and Sussex formed one diocese, the See being at Dorchester, in Oxfordshire, and founded in the year 634. Some seventy years later this immense diocese was divided into Winchester, east of Selwood, and Sherborne, west of Selwood. The first afterwards split up into Selsey, Winchester, and Ramsbury, while the dioceses of Wells and Crediton were separated from that of Sherborne. The diocese of Sarum was formed by the union of that of Sherborne with that of Ramsbury, or Wilton, as it was then called.

completed cathedral; very soon afterwards it was struck by lightning, which seriously damaged the roof and walls. This was looked on as an omen that the life of the cathedral would be short.

William Rufus came to Sarum in 1095 or 1096 to judge William D'Ew and William D'Aldari, his cousins, for conspiracy. They were both found guilty; D'Aldari was whipped through the streets of the city and afterwards hanged, while D'Ew, choosing trial by combat, and being defeated, was condemned to have his eyes put out and to suffer other deformities. The king saw the punishments inflicted himself.

Henry I. held court at Sarum on several occasions; the first of these being memorable as the one on which Archbishop Anselm refused to do homage. This led to a warm dispute between the king and the pope, in which the king carried his point. Still more memorable, perhaps, was the great council of prelates and nobles held here in 1116 to exact the oath of fidelity to William, the heir-apparent, so soon to perish by shipwreck while returning from Normandy. At this assembly the question of precedence between the Archbishops of Canterbury and York was settled, and large supplies were granted the king for the prosecution of the war in France.

In the time of the celebrated Chancellor, Bishop Roger, originally a poor priest at Caen "of a contemptible and base beginning," who earned his preferment from the rapidity with which he could say mass, the see of Sarum reached its greatest splendour; and as he was not merely bishop but governor of the fortress, he employed his power and wealth in repairing and improving the fortifications, as well as in beautifying the cathedral and his episcopal residence. He surrounded the city with a wall, of which a few relics yet remain, and obtained a charter confirming and extending the ecclesiastical establishment and granting the city the right of holding an annual fair for seven days.

The removal to the new town followed, and was initiated by the ecclesiastical authorities, who said that there was great difficulty in getting water at the old town, but, to quote Holinshed, "it is flat otherwise." It was also said that the noise of the wind was so great that the priests could not hear each other say mass; the truth being that whenever there was anything in the nature of civil war in the land, the priests supported the opposite side to that of the men in the castle, who, on one occasion, awaiting the time when all the ecclesiastics were out of the city on a Rogation procession, locked the gates and left them to spend the night in the open air.

After many delays, papal sanction for the removal was finally obtained from Honorius III. by Richard Poore, who is said to have seen the Virgin Mary in a dream, and to have been told by her to build his church in Merrifield. Another version runs that she commanded him to have an arrow shot from the ramparts, and to build his cathedral on the spot where the arrow fell; but as the new cathedral is a mile-and-a-half from the ramparts, the arrow must have been shot from a very long bow. The site is in Merrifield, at the point of union of the rivers Avon and Nadder, on the angle of ground between these streams. There is an old tradition that the church was built upon woolpacks, which probably means that funds for building were raised by taxing wool.

In 1225[1] divine service was first celebrated in the cathedral at the feast of St. Michael, when three altars were consecrated, and the sermon was preached by the Archbishop of Canterbury in the presence of the papal legate. Before the completion of the cathedral, William Longespée, Earl of Salisbury, was buried in it, and the bodies of Bishops Osmund, Roger and Jocelin were brought to it from Old Sarum.

Bishop Richard Poore laid out all the land which was

1 In 1220, the foundation-stones were laid on 28th April, and on 14th September William de Wanda was elected first dean.

to go to the building of the city in squares or chequers, based on the Market Place, and to this provision Salisbury owes that excellent arrangement of its streets which is maintained to this day.

In 1227 the first mayor, Nicholas de Brookeby, was elected, and Salisbury obtained the right of holding a weekly market on Tuesdays. The old church dedicated to St. Martin, which had been situated a little to the north of the Hospital of St. Nicholas, was so affected by the freshets of the river that it was desecrated and rebuilt on higher ground. This year is also memorable for the Charter granted to incorporate the new town, making it a free city, with the same immunities and privileges as Winchester.[1]

An important factor in the development of the town was the diverting, in 1244, of Icknield Street, the great Western road. Its original course lay through Old Sarum and Bemerton and across the meadows towards the race-plain; and its diversion naturally enhanced the importance of Salisbury, as it decreased that of Old Sarum.

Owing to the papal interdict on Oxford in 1238, many of the students withdrew to Salisbury, and hoping to turn this circumstance to the profit of the city, Bishop Giles founded the College and House of St. Nicholas de Valle, or de Vaux, with a warden, two chaplains, and twenty poor scholars in the year 1260.

That Salisbury was now an important centre of the wool trade is shewn by a very long list of offenders against the royal proclamation which forbade the conveyance of wool to Flanders.

In 1278 the city charter was confirmed by Edward I., and William Trebour was elected mayor, an office which had not always been filled previously; but since this time

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1 The dedication of the cathedral to Our Lady was performed 30th September, 1258, by Bishop Egidius, or Giles, de Bridport, in the presence of the king and a great number of nobles and prelates, whom he afterwards feasted lavishly.

the succession has been unbroken. In 1295 the mayor and commonalty in council chose Ricardus Pynnok and Johannes de Braundeston to represent them in Parliament.

To obtain support in his French wars, Edward summoned the nobility to Salisbury in 1297, from which assembly the Church was excluded. About this time Richard of Ludgarshall, the mayor, and a party of citizens, obtained the king's permission to renounce their privileges, on condition that they were exempted from the claims of the prelate; an action which resulted from Bishop Simon's demand for tallage. In consequence trade immediately declined to such an alarming extent that the more considerate part of the populace presented a petition to the bishop, and entrusted themselves to his mercy. Thanks to the intervention of Walter Harvey, one of the canons, an agreement was made under which the citizens were to be subject to the bishop, paying and performing all rents and services, contenting themselves with their respective tenements and places, abstaining from encroachment on his rights and property, and from obstructing him in the measurement and disposal of the ground which remained unappropriated. The mayor was to be chosen by the citizens, but he had to swear before the bishop's bailiff or steward; while the serjeants, or public ministers, were to be chosen by custom, two by the election of the citizens, and a third, overseer of the other two, by the bishop. They could be punished or removed by the bishop, and the citizens were liable to render satisfaction for any misconduct of which the serjeants they elected might be guilty. This agreement cost the citizens two hundred marks, paid as a fine to the king.

On the occasion of the grant of the new charter in 1306, opportunity was taken to divide the city into four wards.

In 1310 the bishop permitted the citizens to fortify their city with a rampart and ditch; and in 1327 the dean and canons obtained permission from the king to surround

the Close with an embattled wall. To this privilege was soon added exemption from the jurisdiction of the Royal Mareschall or Seneschal, which relieved them from being called upon for purveyance to the king's retinue.

Edward III., on 16th December, 1331, granted by charter to Robert the bishop, the dean and chapter, all the stone walls of the cathedral at Old Sarum and of those houses which had formerly belonged to the bishops and canons of that church; the material thus obtained being used in the building of the wall surrounding the Close, and probably in the completion of the cathedral spire. In May, 1360, the king ordered the castle of Old Sarum to be put into a state of defence, as he at this time expected a French invasion. This seems to be the last occasion on which Old Sarum was thought to be of any military value, for in the reign of Henry VI. it was granted to John, Lord Stourton, Treasurer of the Royal Household, with all its ditches, at an annual rent of three shillings and fourpence. The county gaol, however, is supposed to have remained at Old Sarum until the time of Henry VIII.

Members of Parliament first sat for Old Sarum in 1294, but not again until 1360, from which date two members were sent to every Parliament until the constituency was abolished by the Reform Bill. In the later years the lord of the land granted leases to two people, whom he could trust, so that they should have the power of voting. After the election the leases were surrendered. There were no inhabitants and no houses, the election taking place under a tree, which was supposed to have been situated on the site of the last buildings of Old Sarum.[1]

In the middle of the fourteenth century a great difference arose between Wilton and Salisbury on the question of markets. Wilton had long held the right of having a market on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, while

1 The return of John Horne Tooke, in 1801, for Old Sarum, led to the exclusion from the House of Commons of all who had taken deacon's or priest's orders, or who had been ministers of the Church of Scotland.

Salisbury had the right to hold a market on Tuesdays, but in actual fact held a daily market, greatly to the detriment of the trade of Wilton. Not until legal proceedings had been taken against fifty-seven people was an arrangement made by which Salisbury was allowed to hold market only on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays.

Richard Mitford, who became Bishop of Salisbury in 1396, straightway instituted an action before Richard II. and his council against the mayor and commonalty, because assistance had been refused him for the suppression of conventicles. Judgment was given in favour of the bishop, and the citizens were bound in a recognizance of £20,000 to obey the decision.

The population of Salisbury seems to have increased at this time, as not only was St. Edward's Church rebuilt, but those of St. Thomas and St. Martin had both to be enlarged.

When Bishop Hallam died at Gotlieb whilst attending the Council of Constance in 1417, he was buried in the presence of the Emperor in Constance Cathedral. John Chandler, the dean, was elected Bishop of Salisbury in his stead, and enthroned in the presence of Henry V., the Duke of York, and the Earl of Derby, who were afterwards entertained by him at the palace. They are said to have been joined by Queen Joanna, the widow of Henry IV. It is probable that the king was on his way to Southampton, his port of departure for the second French expedition.

Henry VI., in the first year of his reign, empowered the dean and chapter to appropriate £50 annually for the repair of "that stone tower standing in the midst of Salisbury Cathedral which is become ruinous." Repairs were made and the tower rebuilt: some accounts say that the spire was now first added. This work is supposed to have been finished by 1429, in which year Sir Walter Hungerford was licensed by the king "to appropriate the great tithes of Cricklade, and the reversion of

the Manor of Cricklade, called Abingdon's Court, to the dean and chapter of Salisbury Cathedral to maintain the tall spire steeple of that fabric in repair." Nor was this gift ill-timed, as the spire was struck by lightning in 1431. After the fall of Wimborne spire in 1610, the advisability of taking down the spire at Salisbury was considered. Fortunately, it was resolved to allow it to remain, and Sir Christopher Wren, a Wiltshire man, was employed to restore the spire, which he so strengthened that it was more secure afterwards than it had ever been before.

The king visited the town several times, and on one occasion (1448) all householders were ordered to provide themselves with "a good gown of blood-colour and a red hood," as they had done on the occasion of the queen's visit in 1445. In 1457 the king, while staying at the deanery, sat with his lords at the bishop's palace to judge some traitors of the Yorkist faction.

Salisbury was affected by Jack Cade's rebellion to such an extent that Bishop Aiscough retired to Edington for safety; but in vain, for a party of the rebels pursued him, dragged him from the altar, whereat he was saying mass, on to the neighbouring hillside, and there slew him. For this reason one of Jack Cade's quarters was sent to Salisbury, and there exposed upon a pole for the edification of his followers.

In 1456 Pope Calixtus III. announced his intention of canonising Bishop Osmund. Many times had Salisbury endeavoured to obtain a bull to this effect; but the matter was always postponed, since the special ambassadors sent to Rome for the purpose were not supplied with sufficient money to fee those various servants of the Pope by whose aid alone access could be had to the Papal presence. The claims for the canonisation were based on Osmund's foundation and endowment of the chapter; on the gifts which he made to the cathedral; on the rules which he drew up for the management of the Church; and on the various miracles performed in his name. Of these

SALISBURY—ST. ANNE'S GATE.

miracles the greatest number consisted of cures of various complaints, chiefly those which are best effected by rest and time. One of the witnesses to the miracles had noticed a most delicious odour issuing from the tomb of Osmund while he was there praying—the "odour of sanctity" was then believed in as a reality.

The most interesting miracle is thus recorded[1]:—

> While Osmund the bishop was still living, a certain man who lived near Salisbury had been on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and on his return was waiting for a ship at Jaffa, or Joppa, when there appeared to him in his sleep a most beautiful woman, who said to him, "Whence art thou, and of what nation?" He replied, "I am an Englishman, and live near the city of Salisbury." She then asked him, "Dost thou know that good man Osmund, the Bishop of Salisbury?" And he answered, "I know him well." Then the woman again said, "Take this letter, sealed by my hands, and carry it to thine own land, and give it to the same good Bishop Osmund, with these words, 'Thy mistress salutes thee and has sent thee this letter from Jaffa.'" And she gave him a sign of good faith, touching him with her hand upon his bare breast, insomuch that the mark of each of her fingers remained during the whole of his life upon his breast. And when he awoke he saw the letter in his hand and the marks on his breast, and forthwith found himself in his own country, and near to the City of Salisbury, and that through the merit and prayers of the said good man, Osmund the Bishop, and forthwith he went to Osmund the Bishop, and gave him the letter, and showed him the marks of the fingers impressed upon his breast.

On 16th July, 1457, the Archbishop of Canterbury sang a High Mass, specially written for the occasion, in Salisbury Cathedral, and the remains of St. Osmund were solemnly placed in a silver shrine, the gift of the diocese. Watch was regularly kept on St. Osmund's Eve until 1545, when the custom was abolished.

One of the best known events in the history of Salisbury is the execution of the Duke of Buckingham in 1483. The most powerful subject of King Richard, whom he had helped to the throne, he was a brother-in-law of the late king, and also of the Bishop of Salisbury. He was one of the leaders of an armed movement which had for its

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1 *The Canonisation of St. Osmund.* A. R. Malden.

object the placing of Henry of Richmond upon the throne; his defeat was due to a violent storm which prevented the various parties to the rebellion from uniting, and allowed their numbers to be thinned from desertion. Betrayed by a trusted retainer, Ralph Banastre, with whom he had sought refuge in Wales, the Duke was captured and brought to Salisbury. He is said to have confessed his treason in the hope of thus gaining an interview with the king; at any rate he was condemned to death, and executed the next morning in the market place. Many varying accounts are given of the disposal of his remains, and of monuments supposed to have been erected to his memory, but in none of these can any trust be placed. Bishop Woodville, brother-in-law of the Duke, was spared his life for the sake of his cloth; but he lost all his worldly possessions, the cause, it is said, of his death in the following year.

In the time of Queen Mary fearful persecutions were carried out at Fisherton Fields, the bishop of the time being Nicholas Shaxton. This Shaxton had destroyed the relics in the cathedral at the Reformation,[1] and fearful of the results he recanted when Mary came to the throne. In 1556 there was another celebrated execution, that of Lord Stourton, who was hanged in the market place for murdering a Mr. Hartgill and his son. Although hemp cord was good enough to hang his servants who had helped him to commit the crime, his lordship was hanged with a silken cord, which is reported to have been afterwards suspended over his tomb in the Cathedral, and there to have remained for many years.

Queen Elizabeth, while here on her way to Bristol in 1574, was presented with "a cup of gold and £20 in gold, whereat her Majesty was both merry and pleasant."

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1 Possibly not all, since in 1762, when the old vane of inch oak board on the spire was replaced by one of copper, there was found beneath the vane a round, leaden box, containing a second box of wood, which held what appeared to be the remains of some silken fabric.

Henry Lawes is said to have been born in Salisbury,[1] and while still young became celebrated, both as performer and composer, and was appointed one of the private musicians of Charles I. He composed the music sung at the coronation of Charles II., and set Milton's *Comus* to music. Milton addressed him in the sonnet beginning—

> Harry, whose tuneful and well-measured song
> First taught our English music how to span
> Words with just note and accent, not to scan
> With Midas' ears, committing short and long.

His brother William, "the Father of Music," is also said to have been born at Salisbury. He became private musician to Charles I., and afterwards chamber musician to Prince Charles, following whose fortunes in the civil war he was killed at the siege of Chester in 1645.

Salisbury was a favourite place of retirement for James I.; on his first visit in 1603, he and his court were welcomed with great solemnity on their flight from plague-stricken London, despite the fact that the gates were shut against all people coming from that direction, who were required to remain outside the city for three months. Whether it was as a judgment for its preferential treatment of the king or not, the fact remains that Salisbury suffered severely from the plague in the following year.[2]

Passing through Salisbury on his way to captivity and death in London, Sir Walter Raleigh feigned madness and leprosy, to gain time in which he might write his famous *Apology for the Voyage to Guiana*, which was therefore written in this city in the year 1618. While he was still at Salisbury King James visited the city, and, having commanded Raleigh's immediate procedure to London, created Viscount Lisle Earl of Leicester, and

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1 He was christened at Dinton.

2 Other years in which the plague visited Salisbury were 1356, 1563, 1579, 1627, and 1666, on which last occasion there were six hundred deaths from this cause.

Lord Compton Earl of Northampton, in the great hall of the Bishop's Palace, which had been fitted up as a state-room.

Charles I. visited Salisbury on various occasions; in 1625, when he borrowed £1,000 from the city; in 1630, when he confirmed the charter, changing the date of the mayoral election from November 2nd to September 21st; again in 1632, when a boy of fifteen was hanged, drawn, and quartered for threatening to buy a pistol with which to shoot His Majesty. In this last year the recorder, Henry Sherfield, destroyed a window in St. Edmund's Church which represented the Creation, his reason being that the picture was chronologically incorrect, and that the representation of the Deity as "a little old man in a long blue coat" was undignified; "it is moreover very darksome whereby such as sit near the same cannot read in their books." He was committed to prison, fined £500, and obliged to apologize to the Bishop of Salisbury.

Wearing his robes, the Mayor of Salisbury was taken prisoner in 1643 by Prince Maurice and the Earl of Marlborough for not assisting the king. The following year the city was plundered by Sir John Balfour's forces after the Battle of Alresford; and this same year the king visited Salisbury, where he held a council of war at the head of his forces. In 1645 there was a certain amount of street fighting at Salisbury, Ludlow, with a handful of horsemen, holding the Close against Sir Marmaduke Langdale, and maintaining a gallant struggle in the market place and adjoining streets, his men at one time charging through the narrow passage by the Poultry Cross. Autumn of the same year saw a visit from Oliver Cromwell.

As the fall of the tower of St. Edmund's Church is nowhere accurately reported, the following is quoted from the Churchwardens' Accounts, dated 11th July, 1653:—

Amongst the many Eminent Mercyes that the Jnhabitants of Edmundes parish haue received wee may reckon the speciall providence of God

whereby wee the Parishioners and our familyes were saved from Remarkeable and Jminent danger on the Sabbath day, being June the 26th one thousand six hundred fifty and three, when the Maior, and many other principall Jnhabitants of the Citty wth a great multitude of Godly Christianes weer mett at Edmundes Church for the Publique Worshipe of God. The walles of the Tower thereof were become ruinous, Broken, and (by the onwary attemptes of some, who in order to Reparation had uncowered the Roofe and undermined some Pillars) onely not fallen. The maine Pillars did bulge out, and sensiblely shake: the cleftes in the walles were seen to open and shutte with Ringing the Sermon Bell yt day neither weer there any considerable Proppes vnder set to Support it, So yt nothing but the very hand of God did keep the Stones and Timber from falling vntill the next morning yt his one people were all Secure at home, and then hee so sweetly Ordered the fall of the Tower yt (albeit many woorkemen were about it yt day) neither man, woman, nor child, received any hurt thereby. When wee consider what God hath formerly permitted when the Tower in Siloa fell (Luke ye 13: 4:) and when the Church of Blake fryars in London fell vpon a people mett as we were for worship but in another Religion.

The Penruddocke rebellion, treated elsewhere, rendered the year 1655[1] a memorable one for Salisbury; while the next year Cromwell rewarded the loyalty of the city with a renewal of the charter,[2] a command that the inhabitants of the Close should pay taxes to the city, and the presentation of a Cap of Maintenance and a Sword of State. Lest the people of Salisbury should think that the £3,590 7s. 8d. which they had paid for the royalties of their city was excessive, Cromwell gave them also the revenues of the Hospital of St. Nicholas. They lost all at the Restoration, when the Cap of Maintenance was burnt, and the Sword of State broken over the Whipping Post.

Mistress Nell Gwynn, while staying at Southampton, visited the celebrated cutlery manufactory at Salisbury, admired the elegant varieties of steelwork which she

1 We are also told that it was in this year that Old Haley, the plumber, roasted a shoulder of mutton and a pair of chickens on the top of the spire.

2 Charles II. confirmed the charter granted by James I., and amended it in 1675; it was, however, surrendered to the Crown under compulsion in 1684.

was shown, and among other purchases acquired a pair of scissors, made entirely of steel, for which she paid a hundred guineas.

James II. granted the city a new charter in 1688, in which year the mayor and several members of the council were removed for political reasons.

On November 19th the king came with his army to Salisbury, as the key of the West of England, where he was warmly welcomed, and lodged at the Palace. On November 25th, owing to the rapid spread of disaffection, he returned to London. December 4th saw the arrival of the Prince of Orange, who was even more warmly welcomed, and lodged in the same rooms at the Palace which King James had occupied only a fortnight before. One is not altogether surprised to learn that the crown fell down from the top of the Council House.

Some have supposed that the Poultry Cross (apparently because it is the only cross left in the city) is the one that is said to have been erected by one Laurence de St. Martin in the reign of Richard II. because he received the bread for the sacrament from the parish priest one Easter-eve, took it home and, despite the priest's remonstrances, ate it for his supper, part of it with oysters, more with onions, and the rest with wine. Accused by the priest before the bishop and clergy, the knight was convinced of his error, and condemned to erect a stone cross, whereon the whole history of the affair was to be inscribed, in a public place in Salisbury; at this cross, bareheaded, barefooted, and in his shirt, he was to kneel and confess every Friday for the rest of his life.

To the world at large the chief attractions of Salisbury are the Museum, in which is the finest collection of relics of the Stone Age and of savage weapons that has ever been made, and the cathedral. This is remarkable for being entirely of one architectural period, and owes its beauty rather to its graceful proportions than to any

multiplicity of detail. Erected in the thirteenth century, it was the first large building to be built completely in the Early English style, then at its fullest development. It was preceded in point of time by only a part of a building, St. Hugh's choir, in Lincoln Cathedral.

Claimed by the English people as one of the national glories, it is certainly the most typically English cathedral; the slender grace of the spire, which is supposed to have been built as a guide to travellers over Salisbury Plain, being almost ethereal in its beauty. Set in its green Close, surrounded by an old wall whose sculptured stones tell of former buildings in the old city, and whose four gateways with their oak doors, closed every night at eleven o'clock, serve to recall the curfew, Salisbury Cathedral is one of the most picturesque sights of England.

Save for a fine tower, a spacious dining hall, and a chapel of the Perpendicular period, the Episcopal Palace is a building of little beauty.

Several of the houses in the Close are of some historical or architectural interest. Chief among these is a gabled mansion of the Early Perpendicular period, known as "The King's House," because it occasionally served as a royal residence. Another house, known as "The King's Wardrobe," is probably of the fifteenth century.

Audley House, in Crane Street, is a splendid example of fifteenth century domestic architecture. Originally built by a wealthy woolstapler whose merchant's marks are still to be found on the building, it passed into the family of Touchet, Barons Audley. In 1631 it was forfeited by attainder to the Crown, and granted to the Bishop. Later it was given to the city, and used as a workhouse. Returning again to the bishop, it is now used as the Church House. The Hall of John Halle in The Canal is of similar date, and is now used as a china shop.

Water channels formerly ran along every street in Salisbury, and gave the inhabitants reason to liken their city to Venice, as in the epitaph on a native of Salisbury

who died whilst holding the office of Secretary to the Embassy at Venice:—

> Born in the English Venice, thou didst die,
> Dear friend, in the Italian Salisbury.

None of these channels remain, most of them being filled up after the cholera epidemic of 1849, and the rest later.

The "Old George" Inn, at which Pepys was well fed but overcharged, is now a private house. Here he "lay in a silk bed; and very good diet. To supper, then to bed." The next day, after visiting Stonehenge and Wilton, he says, "So home to dinner, and that being done, paid the reckoning, which was so exorbitant and particular in rate of my horses, and 7s. 6d. for bread and beer, that I was mad, and resolve to trouble the mistress about it, and get something for the poor; and come away in that humour, £2 5s. 6d. Servants, 1s. 6d.; poor, 1s."

It may be noted that the first edition of Goldsmith's *Vicar of Wakefield* was printed at Salisbury, and that among the Bishops of Salisbury who were men of letters, three—Earle, the author of *Microcosmography;* Burnet, the historian of his own times; and Jewel, the apologist for the English Church—are known to the general public. Nor can the see be considered unfruitful in other fields of honour since it has yielded one Saint and two Cardinals to Rome; one Lord Chief Justice, three Lord Chancellors, two Lord Treasurers and two Masters of the Rolls to the English nation; one Chancellor of the University to Cambridge and two to Oxford.

A. W. K. STRATON.

SOME OLD HOUSES

WILTSHIRE may be considered one of the richest counties of England in remains of the Domestic Architecture of the Middle Ages. In this respect it is even a rival of Somerset, and the reason, no doubt, is to be found in the excellent building stone available in many parts of the county.

In the stone districts the old houses are very numerous and well preserved, though in the flint district this is, of course, not so much the case. Timber building, which was so general in many other parts of England, is, however, rare.

In spite of the destruction which has taken place of late, it is still a most interesting county to travel in to those who delight in beautiful old houses, large and small, which still cover the land. Alteration and "restoration," however, are reducing the number of these ancient buildings.

It will be impossible to do more than notice a few of these charming old manor and farm-houses. There are not so many specimens of the earlier mediæval styles as might, perhaps, be expected. The reason of this must be, not that such did not exist, but that the country being in a flourishing state, buildings were altered and renewed in accordance with the wants and taste of the times. There are, however, some very fine specimens of houses of the fifteenth century.

Some of the more interesting houses require a fuller description, such as the manor houses at Great Chalfield and South Wraxall.

I.—GREAT CHALFIELD MANOR HOUSE

The manor house at Great Chalfield is certainly one of the finest and most characteristic houses of the mediæval period in England. It was wonderfully complete in the early part of the nineteenth century, when it suffered severely. The interior of the house has been sadly modernised, but, fortunately, excellent drawings were made of it, as well as of Wraxall, so that we are able to describe the original arrangement.[1] Nevertheless it is even now more complete than many buildings of its kind, and it gives an excellent idea of a manor house of the middle of the fifteenth century, though, unfortunately, one wing has been destroyed. The gable end remains still, so that the general effect of the front has not been lost, and the general plan has not been much altered. We have a moat with fishponds, formed by a small stream, nearly surrounding the whole group of buildings; and a little church, mill, barns, and stables making the establishment complete in itself.

From the first court, entered from a stone bridge, and surrounded by the barns and farm buildings, an ancient archway leads to the forecourt. The front is singularly beautiful and complete, and the building is generally symmetrical. The hall is in the centre, and on the right (or west) is the porch of two stories; and a corresponding projection on the left contains the window lighting the daïs, just as at Wraxall. Beyond them, right and left, are the two side gables of the house, each containing a most beautiful oriel window. They are of different designs, the one on the left, lighting the great chamber of daïs, is quite without a rival.

The porch is richly groined, and has carved bosses; there was a curious squint between it and the dining room for inspecting visitors; the door had a small wicket in it. The hall screen was of unusual beauty and richness. The

[1] *Examples of Gothic Architecture*, Part III. Pugin and Walker.

Great Chalfield.

fireplace was of great width and placed near the daïs. The two bay-window recesses, one on each hand of this table, probably led, one to the great chamber (though the staircase is destroyed), the other to a vaulted apartment which may have been a cellar, as it is at Wraxall. The groining of these windows is very fine. The ceiling, which is nearly flat and forms the floor to an attic in the roof, has finely moulded beams, carved bosses, and shields at the intersections, one bearing the arms of Tropnell. The others have disappeared. Originally the large compartments of the ceiling formed by the principal beams were sub-divided by smaller ribs having bosses of plaster at their junction, which were preserved at Wells Cathedral. The curious masks for looking into the hall and overseeing what went on there—one of which represents King Midas with ass's ears—are still in existence, though not in their places.

Of the great chamber the magnificent oriel window and gable alone remain; it had a fine Jacobean fireplace, which had superseded the Gothic one.

The courtyard was probably completed on the south-east side by other buildings, as at Wraxall, as traces of these remain. The corresponding wing has the servants' offices below and, as usual, a large chamber above, with a good roof with carved principals and arched wind braces like that over the drawing room.

These two houses very much resemble each other in plan, and give a good idea of the comfort and even splendour of the old country manor houses, very different from the coarse and barbarous roughness popular writers frequently attributed to the fifteenth century. The general plan, too, instead of showing the attention to defence often supposed to have been the great object builders of the period desired, has nothing more terrible than two tiny semi-circular bastions—as perhaps they may be called—which, as they are certainly not mediæval, are probably of the time of Charles I.

The group of buildings with the pretty little church make a charming picture.[1]

II.—SOUTH WRAXALL MANOR HOUSE

This fine and most interesting house was built in the fifteenth century by some member of the family of Long, which has possessed it ever since. Externally, the appearance of the house has been but little changed, beyond the destruction of the wing on the west of the gatehouse, presumed to have been stables.

Internally the house has been altered, but the original plan can be still traced. There does not seem to be any signs of a moat or bridge, perhaps because it stands on rising ground. The gatehouse, which stands on the south side of the forecourt, is very fine, and has a most beautiful oriel window over the entrance gateway. The small doorway at the side of this building is unusual.

The house stands on the east side of the forecourt to the right hand of the gatehouse, as it does at Great Chalfield. The hall has a good porch of two stories, and the usual passage leading to the kitchens. The screen is of later date,[2] as well as the chimney-piece, which has the date 1598. The fireplace itself is original. At the daïs end of the hall are two recesses with windows, as at Great Chalfield. From one of them a staircase leads to the great chamber.[3] This is a magnificent and most beautiful apartment of the Jacobean period, which is rendered unusually picturesque by the ingenuity which has been shewn in the enlargement of the original Gothic room. A stone pier which has been left to support the mediæval roof still remaining above the splendid plaster

[1] At the time of writing the owner, Mr. Fuller, of Neston Park, is beginning to restore the house. [Ed.]

[2] The gallery on the top of the screen was added about fifteen years ago.

[3] One of the windows in this recess has been replaced with a doorway and removed to the new passage above. A feature of the original design was the compressing of the inner and outer mouldings of these windows, with no intervening splay to afford greater space for the archway and staircase.

coved ceiling, and which forms a projection into the room, has been cleverly panelled with semi-circular headed niches which form seats.

Formerly communicating with this grand room is another chamber with a handsome fireplace of the time of James I., which has a similar room under it on the ground floor. At the west end of the drawing room a staircase leads to another fine room with a rich fireplace, which stands upon pillars of Jacobean date, forming an alcove opening on the garden.

The range of buildings enclosing the quadrangle on the north side are partly of the date of the original house and partly of seventeenth century work.

At the other end of the hall are the usual domestic offices, and the servants' court had a picturesque sort of cloister with stone pillars similar to those in the garden.[1] The rooms over have some fine Jacobean panelling, and some of a bold linen-fold pattern. The fireplace in the room called "The Raleigh Room," which is of the first part of the sixteenth century, has the monograms S. H. L. and H. E. in a love-knot, probably from Sir Henry Long and Eleanor his wife.

Altogether this is one of the most interesting houses in the county.[2]

YATTON KEYNELL.—This is a small house, near the church, of a very picturesque appearance, which is partly owing to the fine design of the central porch and its curved gables. The window over the entrance has the mullion omitted in the centre portion below the transom, which has a pointed arch form, which is unusual. The double string courses with a plain space between them seem to

1 A black and white timber passage was unfortunately built overhead about fifteen years ago.

2 It has recently been well restored, and the gardens laid out; but one regrettable feature, for which the tenant who did the alterations is not responsible, is the building out of a bay the height of the house near the gatehouse, thus taking away from the just effect of the latter.

suggest the classic entablature. There is an old staircase inside. The old manor house, which it is said was of the time of Elizabeth, has been destroyed. The subject of these remarks seems to be of the time of James I.

POTTERNE has a fine timber house of the fifteenth century, which, after having been much neglected, has been much restored. It has a lofty hall with a tracery lookout from the chamber of daïs, answering to the masks at Chalfield. It probably had a hearth in the centre and a louvre, as the large chimney removed at the restoration was quite late.

WESTWOOD.—The manor house here is a small house of a very charming character. At present it is L shaped, but has probably lost one wing.

SHELDONS.—This is a very fine house of small size, but having some uncommon features, the principal being a very grand porch of the fourteenth century. This porch is much larger and of a more architectural character than the rest of the house, and seems to shew that the ancient manor house was formerly a much more important building than it is now. The porch, of two stories, has a plain but imposing entrance with a pointed arch. The lower story is vaulted with plain chamfered ribs. At the angles are fine buttresses with gabled head; and the upper room has a beautiful two-light window with a quatrefoil in the head. The rest of the house is mostly of the seventeenth century, but has some remains of the fifteenth century work; inside there is a Jacobean staircase. In the garden is a very remarkable edifice, namely, a domestic chapel. It is not very usual to find domestic chapels of such a kind standing detached from the house. The present building seems to be of the fifteenth century, and has been ill-used. The whole group, with two tall trees, one on each side of the entrance, and stone gate-piers and steps, is a most romantic-looking picture.

AUDLEY HOUSE, Salisbury, is built round a small courtyard, and stands at the entrance of Crane Bridge. It

GATEHOUSE, SOUTH WRAXALL, BEFORE RECENT RESTORATION.

is a fine house of the fifteenth century, and has had a troubled existence, first as a workhouse, and later as a church-house. The hall has good windows with a very fine bay, and in the inner room is a very good chimney-piece. Several other chimney-pieces have been brought from various places. There are remains of half-timber work, and the whole is very interesting, though it is difficult to trace the design of the old building owing to former destruction and modern improvements.

NORRINGTON is of the early part of the fifteenth century. It has a beautiful hall and porch, the doorway of the latter being particularly fine. The hall has three good early Perpendicular windows with transoms; the porch has a chamber over it, which, from the small size of the window, might have been the muniment room, and the grating in front confirms this idea. The archway is grandly moulded, and is placed out of the centre and against a rectangular buttress of large projection. The other buttress is diagonal, and of the usual type. There is little doubt that this is the wall of a wing of the building which has been shortened.

BRADFIELD has a good hall of the fifteenth century, and buildings of Jacobean style behind it, but it is a wreck.

CADENHAM, FOXHAM.—Seventeenth century manor house, now used as a farm, and contains some panelled rooms and a good staircase, though much modernized. A dovecot is still standing.

EDINGTON has a house which was once remarkable, but which is now spoiled, though it still retains some interesting features. It seems to have been partly constructed out of part of the monastic building, and the square battlemented projecting wings give it a Gothic look.

KEEVIL is a fine old house, square in plan, and without the projecting wings mentioned in the last example. Its many gables, however, give it a picturesque appearance.

There is some very fine panelling in the style of James I., and a painted frieze. There is also a fine Gothic half-timber house in the village, unfortunately much restored.

LAKE HOUSE is another square house, which has, however, projecting chimneys as well as battlemented bay windows and porch, which very much help the effect. It is built of chequers of flint stone, a favourite decoration in that district. There is some panelling and a rich mantelpiece in the parlour.

It is quite impossible, however, to do justice to the subject in a short notice. Those mentioned are only a very few of the beautiful and interesting old houses which are to be found in such numbers in the stone districts. Many villages are quite full of most delightful and picturesque smaller houses and cottages.

THOMAS GARNER.

In compiling the following list (begun by Mr. Garner[1]) of the most noteworthy old Wiltshire houses, the Editor is greatly indebted to Mr. Harold Brakspear.

ALLINGTON, CHIPPENHAM.—Remains of Sir Gilbert Prynn's house, *c.* 1600, now a barn.

AMESBURY.—Lodges, dated 1600 and 1607, of the Earl of Hertford's house.

AVEBURY.—Elizabethan manor house.

BEANACRE, MELKSHAM.—(1) Small fifteenth century manor house, retaining its hall, porch and two-storied wing. (2) Seventeenth century house, retaining one room complete with ornamental fireplace and wainscot.

BEWLEY COURT, LACOCK.—Small manor house of the

[1] It is with deep regret the Editor has to record the death of Mr. Garner. The proofs have unfortunately not had the benefit of his revision.

fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, with hall, porch, and two-storied wing complete.

BIDDESTONE.—Manor house of the seventeenth century, retaining some wainscotted rooms and a good barn.

BOWERHILL, MELKSHAM.—House of the seventeenth century in brick.

BOYTON MANOR, NEAR HEYTESBURY.—Date, 1618.

BRADENSTOKE.—Farm house incorporating fourteenth century western range of buildings of the Austin Priory.

BRADFIELD, HULLAVINGTON.—Manor house with fifteenth century hall (gatehouse and porch destroyed) and sixteenth century wing at back.

BRADFORD-ON-AVON.—(1) The Hall, a large seventeenth century house with fine façade, one wainscotted room and another with ornamental ceiling. (2) "The Methuens," now known as "the Priory," retains the roof and vaulted porch of a fifteenth century hall and good seventeenth century staircase. (3) Hall's Almshouses, a charming block of 1700. (4) The Grange of Shaftesbury Abbey retains the great fourteenth century barn, a two-storied storehouse of same date, and some fifteenth century work in the present farmhouse, now called Barton farm.

BRITFORD.—The Parsonage, of no special interest, but a specimen of fine brickwork.

BRIXTON DEVERELL.—See Deverell, Brixton.

BROUGHTON GIFFORD.—(1) House at the cross roads, of 1629 date. (2) Monkton farm, a large house, mostly of the seventeenth century.

BULEDGE, CHIPPENHAM.—House of the seventeenth century with later porch and garden houses.

CAN COURT.—Small house, *c.* 1600, which still retains its original staircase.

CASTLE COMBE.—House of the seventeenth century in street, with shell porch.

CHALFIELD, GREAT.—Superb manor house of the Tropnells, all of fifteenth century work.

CHARLTON PARK.—Large manor house of the seventeenth century, now much modernized.

CHENEY COURT, BOX.—House of the seventeenth century, retaining old staircase and some panelled rooms.

CHIPPENHAM.—Fine house in market place with bay windows of the sixteenth century, capped with late cornice and balustrade.

CLYFFE PYPARD.—Manor house which retains some seventeenth century work.

CODFORD.—Almhouses of the seventeenth century.

COLES FARM, BOX.—An interesting ruin in the Elizabethan style, but dated 1645.

COMPTON BASSET.—Built 1674.

COMPTON CHAMBERLAYNE.—Part of the house *temp.* Henry VII. The interior contains some carving by Grinling Gibbons.

CORSHAM.—(1) Corsham Court, built in 1582 by Customer Smith; middle part of south façade of this date. (2) Almshouses, 1663, consist of six houses with cloister, master's house and free school retaining some good woodwork. (3) PICKWICK manor house of the seventeenth century with earlier barn. (4) JAGGARDS, a house of the seventeenth century retaining original staircase and one room panelled.

CORSLEY, NEAR WARMINSTER.—Elizabethan brick house.

DEVERELL, BRIXTON.—Manor House.

DEVERELL HILL.—Scanty remains of fifteenth century manor house of the Ludlows.

DEVERELL LONGBRIDGE.—Almshouses of the seventeenth century.

DINTON, "CLARENDON HOUSE."—Elizabethan farmhouse.

EASTON, CORSHAM.—Small manor house of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

EDINGTON.—Manor house, partly of the seventeenth century.

FROXFIELD.—Somerset Almshouses, founded 1694.

GARSDEN.—Manor House of the sixteenth century.

HATCH HOUSE.—Seat of the Hyde family.

HURDCOT HOUSE, NEAR BARFORD ST. MARTIN.—Jacobean house, much modernized.

HAZELBURY, BOX.—Manor House having remains of fifteenth century hall with other parts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and fine gate posts.

HEYTESBURY.—The Parsonage farm has some internal features *c.* 1600.

HILL DEVERELL.—See Deverell, Hill.

JAGGARDS.—See Corsham.

KEEVIL.—(1) Jacobean manor house. (2) Gothic half-timbered house, much restored.

KINGTON ST. MICHAEL.—(1) Almshouses, 1672. (2) The Priory farm, incorporating the buildings on the west side of the cloister of the Benedictine Nunnery.

KINGTON LANGLEY.—A large farmhouse on the green, of the seventeenth century, with a fine shell porch.

KINGTON, WEST.—Latimer Farm, a small seventeenth century house.

LACOCK.—(1) The abbey incorporates the chief buildings, thirteenth century, round the cloister of the Austin Nunnery, converted into a manor house by Sir W. Sharington 1540-53. (2) The village retains a number of fifteenth century houses.

LAKE HOUSE.—Manor house of the seventeenth century; chequered flint and stone.

LITTLECOTE.—Large early sixteenth century manor house with fine hall and later additions.

LONGBRIDGE DEVERELL.—See Deverell, Longbridge.

LONGFORD CASTLE.—Façade, 1591.

LONGLEAT.—Great house of the sixteenth century, built by Sir John Thynne on the site of a priory of Austin canons.

MALMESBURY.—The abbey house of the sixteenth century incorporates a fragment of the buildings of the great Benedictine Abbey.

MERE.—(1) Chantry house, near the church, is in part fifteenth century. (2) "Woodlands," a small fifteenth century house, having a two-storied fourteenth century wing, the upper part of which is a chapel.

MIDGEHALL FARM, LYDIARD TREGOZE.—Moated Grange of Stanley Abbey.

MONKTON FARLEIGH.—Small portions of Priory.

NEW HOUSE or Tychebourne Park, 1619.

NORRINGTON, NEAR BROADCHALKE.—Gothic.

NORTON MALMESBURY.—Manor house of the seventeenth century, much modernized.

PICKWICK.—See Corsham.

POTTERNE.—(1) Porch House, fifteenth century timber house. (2) Cottages in the village of fifteenth century in timber.

PURTON, NEAR SWINDON.—Church Farm, Elizabethan.

RAMSBURY MANOR.—Designed by Webb.

RESTROP, NEAR SWINDON.—Elizabethan farm house.

SALISBURY.—(1) Hall of John Halle; banqueting room *c.* 1470. (2) Audley House or Crane House, now restored as a Church House, fifteenth century. (3) Bishop's Palace, gateway tower and hall. (4) Several houses in the Close. (5) Joiners' Hall, carved timber front.

SEAGRY.—Fourteenth century gatehouse.

SHERSTONE.—Old parsonage house of the fifteenth century, much decayed.

SHELDON, CHIPPENHAM.—Manor house having early fourteenth century porch, rest of house sixteenth century, and a detached fifteenth century chapel.

STEEPLE ASHTON.—Vicarage retains hall and porch of fourteenth century date.

STOCKTON HOUSE.—Fine manor house of *c.* 1600, some of the rooms with ornamental ceilings and panelling.

SURRENDEN, HULLAVINGTON.—A fragment of manor house built 1580 remains, partly in ruins.

SUTTON VENY PARSONAGE, NEAR HEYTESBURY.—Embodies some fourteenth century work.

Yatton Keynell.

TISBURY, PLACE HOUSE.—Fifteenth century Grange of Shaftesbury Abbey, much spoiled.

TOCKENHAM, WOOTTON BASSET.—Manor house of the seventeenth century, now much enlarged.

UPPER UPHAM, ALDBOURNE.—Manor house, dated 1599.

WULFHALL.—"The Laundry," front of sixteenth century house with fine group of brick chimneys.

WARDOUR CASTLE.—Ruins, early fifteenth century.

WESTWOOD, BRADFORD-ON-AVON.—Manor House of the sixteenth century, having good plaster ceilings to some of the rooms.

WHITEPARISH.—(1) Manor, *temp.* James I. (2) Whelply farmhouse.

WICKFARM, LACOCK.—Site of manor house, fifteenth century barn and dove-cot remain complete.

WILBURY PARK.—*Temp.* James I.

WILTON.—Great house, mostly of the seventeenth century.

WRAXALL, NORTH.—Remains of fifteenth century house with chimney similar to those of the George Inn at Norton S. Philip.

WRAXALL, SOUTH.—Superb manor house of the fifteenth century, with sixteenth century additions; lately much restored.

YATTON KEYNELL.—Small seventeenth century manor house.

BRADFORD-ON-AVON [1]

THE old town of Bradford, with its grey gable-fronted houses crowded in the hollow by the river, or rising one above another in successive ranks up the steep slopes and terraces of the valley, is an almost unique instance of a manufacturing town which is picturesque. Though built of the biscuit-coloured stone which comes from the plentiful quarries in the neighbourhood, the houses are all toned by exposure and smoke to a strong solid grey; but in spite of the absence of colour, the impression Bradford leaves upon the eye is of something foreign and un-English, with its flights of break-neck and uneven steps leading from terrace to terrace and its groups of houses built round a small, well-like court.

In A.D. 519 the Kingdom of Wessex was established by Cerdic, and during the course of the next half century its limits were pushed forward by his successors. One of these, King Cenwealh, was enabled, by a victory at Bradford, to overrun the country north of the Mendips, which had until then remained entirely in the hands of the Britons. This victory gave to Wessex not only the site of Bradford, but the site of Malmesbury, and the two places are brought together. After this, perhaps the most important event in the early history of Bradford was the foundation by Aldhelm, a relation of Ina King of the West Saxons, of a small monastery, with its church

[1] The name of the town was changed from Bradford to Bradford-on-Avon in 1858 by the Post Office, at the suggestion of Canon Jones.

(*ecclesiola*), which William of Malmesbury says was dedicated to St. Laurence. This monastery was destroyed, as was that of Frome, another of Aldhelm's foundations. It is thought St. Aldhelm's body rested a night at the religious houses at Frome and Bradford which he had founded. From the time of Aldhelm's foundation Bradford gradually rose to be a place of some importance, until, in 957, the great Council or Witanagemote was held here, in which St. Dunstan was chosen Bishop of Worcester. In the first year of the eleventh century[1] the manor of Bradford was given to the Abbess of Shaftesbury in order that in King Ethelred's most unquiet reign her nuns might have an *impenetrabile confugium*—safe harbourage —and a secure hiding-place for the relics of St. Edward the Martyr, a most desirable thing, if possible, during the first quarter of the century which was chequered by constant landings and skirmishes of the predatory Danes. The history of Bradford is practically a blank during the first centuries after the Norman Conquest, but the building of a larger church in the twelfth century—the present Parish Church—seems to point to a state of relative prosperity while so many other towns in the district were suffering.

A few years after the Abbess' possessions in Bradford were confirmed to her by Royal Charter, King John, ever wandering from place to place, came to the town in 1216, a few months before the close of his troublous reign. An evidence of the growth of the town is the fact that Bradford, in 1295, then called a Burgus, was called upon to send two members to Parliament.

At the time of the Reformation, William Byrde, Vicar of Bradford and Chaplain to Lord Hungerford, fell into disgrace with the "great master of all" for saying to one who was going to assist the King against the rebels in the North: "I am sorry thou goest. Seest thou not how the

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[1] 1001 A.D.

King plucketh down images and abbeys every day?" And another time, upon a man saying: "I ween all the world will be heretics in a little while," Byrde answered: "Dost thou marvel at that? I tell thee it's no marvel, for the great master of all is a heretic, and such a one as there is not his like in the world." Lord Hungerford lost his head and Byrde his living.

In the reign of Elizabeth, Bradford (and also Trowbridge) lost a yearly award for the establishment of a school, as the Mayor and Corporation of Salisbury represented both as "upland towns with scanty populations and a limited resort of gentlemen and merchants,"[1] for which reason the utilitarian petitioners felt there was no need of such schools, "nor any profit in good learning." An Edward Horton (who died in 1602) had, however, appropriated certain rents of the manor of Stoney Littleton to provide a schoolmaster in Bradford. He appointed a schoolmaster, "and after displaced him, and none there these many years."[2]

In 1686 a pretender, calling himself the Duke of Monmouth, made his appearance in the neighbourhood, trusting to the great and enduring popularity of the dead Duke in the West of England. He was apprehended at Bradford, and was afterwards "whipped at the cart's tail from Newgate to Tyburn." With the later and more important events in history Bradford has no link: the history of its own growth and prosperity is that of the English wool manufacture.

The town of to-day is composed of the remains of the monastic system and the wool trade. To the former belong the Saxon Church, the Parish Church, the two bridges, and the Barn; to the latter, the various old houses.

The SAXON CHURCH—the oldest and most interesting

[1] In 1559. As a result the establishment was shifted to Salisbury, and no provision was made for education in Bradford until 1715.

[2] Additional MS., 21,507, British Museum.

building in Bradford—is of its kind unique. There are larger churches of Saxon origin remaining in the kingdom, but they have continued to be used throughout the centuries as churches and have suffered mediæval and later additions or insertions, whereas Bradford was superseded by a Norman church adjoining, and was presumably left untouched till later times.

In the year 1715, Anthony Methuen, the then owner, granted the nave and porch as a "*Charity School House*," "the chancel being still reserved and then or previously completely separated from the rest of the building by walling up the chancel arch and the insertion of large flues . . . it was described as 'a building adjoining to the churchyard of Bradford, commonly called the Skull house.'"[1] The story of its discovery in the nineteenth century is best told in Canon Jones' (then Vicar of Bradford) own words :—

> Hemmed in on almost every side by buildings of one kind or another—on the north by a large shed employed for the purposes of the neighbouring woollen manufactory; on the south by a modern house and also by a coach-house and other out-buildings; on the east by what was formerly a very fair house of the building of one Horton, a rich clothier, the western gable of which was within a very few feet of it, and obscured it from general view—the design and nature of the building escaped the notice of archæologists. The fact, moreover, of the west front being to a great extent modern work of the seventeenth or eighteenth century, in feeble imitation of the old Romanesque, the fragments of the original arcading concealed by ivy, deceived casual observers, and indeed rendered all at the first more or less sceptical in admitting the antiquity of the building. In the year 1856, when standing at the highest point of our town close by . . . St. Mary, Tory . . . my eye was attracted at what seemed to be the outline of an old ecclesiastical building, consisting of a nave, chancel, and north porch. It was very hard to disentangle it from all the other buildings with which it was almost hopelessly intermixed. Happily, however, I had the valuable assistance of Mr. C. E. Davis, F.S.A., of Bath. . . . In 1857, at the meeting of the Wiltshire Archæological Society at Bradford, attention was drawn to this remarkable building, though it is admitted few seemed willing to believe in its authenticity as a relic of the *tenth* century.

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[1] *An Account of the Saxon Church of St. Laurence.* Canon W. H. Jones, Devizes.

A year later the first account was published.[1] Expert opinion was sought; Sir Gilbert Scott, Mr. E. A. Freeman, and Mr. Petit pronounced for the extreme antiquity of the building. Interest was aroused and money collected, and early in 1872 the chancel was purchased from the owners, who used it as a gardener's cottage; and later the Charity School, till then located in the nave, was removed to the "Church House," and possession of the whole of the Saxon church was obtained and vested in trustees.

The restoration was carried out by Mr. Charles Adye. "It was found absolutely necessary to restore the chancel arch, the windows, and arcading at the south-east corner of the nave, as well as the two arched doorways in the centre, respectively, of the north and south side of the nave. Fortunately, in removing the large chimney stacks and excavating the floor, many of the original stones, both of the chancel arch and of other portions of the building, which had been mutilated were discovered, and these have been faithfully replaced in their original position."[2]

Not a single old stone was in any way tampered with: the only thing that was done was to replace missing parts with new material; but one regrets that those missing parts were not filled up with some other formation of stone, as already the new work is taking on the all-pervading grey colouring of the place, and it will soon be difficult to distinguish new from old.

Later the house on the south side was pulled down; portions of east and west walls were built to show what the extent of the south porch had been. Foundations of the porch were traced, and the mark of its roof can still be seen on the south wall of the church. Inside there

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[1] *Wilts. Arch. Mag.*, vol. v., with plans and elevations by Rev. W. C. Lukis, F.S.A., formerly curate of Bradford and Secretary of the Wilts. Arch. Society.

[2] *Account of the Saxon Church.* Canon W. H. Jones.

Bradford-on-Avon—Saxon Church, North Side.

are traces of domestic occupation in the marks of the staircase, plastering, and holes for floor joists.[1]

Very briefly the church must be described: the first impression is almost curiously Italian, and the ornamental banded stripwork running round the north nave and chancel arches is of distinctly classical feeling. It is small compared with other Anglo-Saxon churches. The nave is 25 ft. long by 13 ft. 8 in. broad, and the chancel 13 ft. 4 in. long by 10 ft. 2 in. broad, interior measurements: the porch is 9 ft. 11 in. from East to West, and 10 ft. 5 in. from North to South. The mean width of the walls are 2 ft. 5 in., and their heights: nave, 25 ft. 2 in.; chancel, 18 ft. 4 in.; and porch, 15 ft. 6 in. This great proportion of height to width is a Saxon characteristic, and with the step pilasters and arcades can be seen in some illuminated MSS.,[2] and also in the Bayeux tapestry. The structure, when complete with its south porch, was cruciform in plan, while the chancel is of the square-ended English type. The enrichment of the walls is in two storeys; from a plain plinth rise pilaster strips which are stepped in three degrees at their base,[3] and which run into a plain broad string course on which rests arcading which is headed with another string course level with the eaves of the roof. Both the string courses run completely round the building. The arcading, which is merely

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1 Later more repairing proved necessary, doubtless from the surrounding walls being removed. "The ancient massive unbuttressed walls seemed altogether giving way, and we had to shore them up while we devised means to make them safe. The walls were made of a casing of stone inside and out, with cement poured in between. In the course of ages the cement had vanished, and there was nothing to tie the inner and outer faces of the wall together. Mr. Charles Adye, a very skilful and zealous architect in Bradford itself, has made the whole safe by gradually and warily pouring in new cement. It was a long business." —Extracted from letter to *The Times*, September 9th, 1886, by E. A. Freeman.

2 In the MS. of *Paraphrase of Caedmon*, *c.* 1000, in the Bodleian, stepped bases, trapezoidal caps and bases, reeded pilasters, arcades, square-cut string courses, and externally splayed windows, can all be seen.

3 In Langford Church, Oxon, the pilaster strips both begin and finish with the three steps.

ornamental, not constructive, varies in form and enrichment, and gives the impression of having been cut out of the face of the wall, though "a careful examination of the work, especially in regard to the planes of its various surfaces, shows that the enrichment was planned when the stones of the walling was laid, and is necessarily contemporary with the fabric."[1] The arches of the arcading are cut out on the lower surface only, except on the south side of chancel and two arches each on south-east and north-west of nave, which are cut out above, leaving the arch standing out; only two of the trapezoidal bases are stepped; the caps are all plain trapezoidal; the pilasters are reeded on the east end of the chancel, both on the arcading and on the north lower corner pilaster. On the east gable of the nave and the gable of the porch there are reeded pilasters running up from the upper string course; originally they probably continued to the roof.[2]

The only originally exterior doorway is that in the porch, which has plain, square cut imposts and strip work round, ending in a stepped base on the plinth. The south doorway was formerly an interior one, and has no decoration;[3] those between porch to nave and nave and chancel have the same plain imposts carried through the arch. The former has on the porch side portions of a reeded jamb pilaster and banded stripwork round the head; the latter has a similar hood mould; the soffit and sides of the arch have been rebuilt. All the doorways show the Saxon construction of sloping inwards from the base

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1 *The Arts in Early England*, vol. ii., G. Baldwin Brown; where a fuller description will be found. Also a valuable set of drawings and notes of the church, made by the late Mr. J. T. Irvine during the years of the restoration, are among his papers now the property of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

2 Compare the towers of Earls Barton, Northamptonshire, and Sompting, Sussex.

3 The south porch may have been a room for the priest. Their dwelling-places were frequently attached to the church in those days, either over porches, or in the tower as at Netheravon, Wilts.

to the imposts, and narrow width, which last is a late feature.[1]

Of windows there are three—all round-headed and double-splayed. Only that in the south wall of the chancel is really original, for that in the south wall of the nave has been restored from two arch-stones that remained *in situ*, while that in the west wall of the porch has been cut into and altered.[2]

It will be observed that the doors in the porch are not opposite each other, the exterior one being more to the west than the interior one. Different reasons have been conjectured. Most probably the difference arose from the difficulty of making the structure uniform exteriorly, and yet giving room for an altar at the east.[3] The most striking features of the interior are the two sculptured figures of angels over the chancel arch, which were found in the east wall (*c.* 1850) during repairs to the schoolroom, and placed over the porch of the modern house, then on the site of the south porch, before the church had been "discovered."

Here they attracted the attention of Canon Jones:—

> The sculptured angels presented so strong a resemblance to figures found in the Utrecht Psalter of the ninth century. Moreover, the suggestion made by Mr. J. H. Parker, as long ago as 1858, of the great similarity between the sculptured angels and similar figures found in the Benedictional of S. Æthelwold[4] would seem to give a fair clue to the probable date. That document is an illuminated document of the tenth century, and was the ancient Benedictional of the See of Winchester, compiled by the direction of S. Æthelwold, who held that See A.D. 963-984.

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1 The north outer door is 8 ft. 4 in. high from step to apex, 2 ft. 3¾ in. wide at step, 2 ft. ¾ in. under impost; the inner door is 9 ft. 2 in. high, 2 ft. 11¾ in. and 2 ft. 8¾ in. wide; the south door is the same approximate widths, but 8 ft. 9½ in. high; the chancel-arch is 9 ft. 8 in. high and exceptionally narrow, being 3 ft. 5 in. wide throughout.

2 The insertion of new windows in the west has been found much fault with, but they can deceive no one, and are absolutely necessary, for obvious reasons.

3 In the Saxon Cathedral at Canterbury there was an altar in the south porch.—*The Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral*, Professor Willis, 1845.

Illustrated and described in *Archæologia*, vol. xxiv.

The angels have their wings expanded; around their heads is the *nimbus*, and over one arm each holds what is conjectured to represent a napkin. They have now been replaced in the position in which they were found. Originally they were no doubt on each side of a central figure of the Saviour; a rood figure of the Saxon period, life-sized and vested, still remains at Langford, Oxfordshire.[1] There is another at Headbourne Worthy, Hampshire (a church chiefly of the tenth century), but much defaced.[2]

As to the date of the little church, there are no grounds for departing from the *original* opinions of Mr. E. A. Freeman, Canon Jones (see *ante*), and Sir John Henry Parker, who agreed with Mr. J. T. Irvine. Parker wrote to Canon Jones (in 1872): "The church was built, as it seems to me, in the time of Bishop Æthelwold, between 970 and 975, or possibly then built of wood only, and rebuilt of stone about 1025, not later." These authorities went on the general appearance. The approximate date has been practically settled by Professor G. Baldwin Brown, who, having made a special study of Saxon architecture on the comparative method, sums up the vexed question as follows: "Bradford appears in general character a singularly early church, but when we observe its double splayed windows,[3] reckon up its pilaster strips,[4] and note the curious resemblance of its external arcading to that in the interior of the very late Saxon church at Dunham Magna in Norfolk, we begin to distrust the impression of great antiquity."[5] He fixes the date as the

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1 Measured drawings and pamphlet by Sir H. Dryden of this and the later rood figures in the same church are in the Northampton Museum.

2 *Proceedings Archæological Institute*, Winchester, 1846.

3 Compare Deerhurst, Gloucestershire, dated 1056, Boarhunt, Hants., *c.* 1025.

4 Compare Kirkdale, Yorks., dated 1060.

5 *The Arts in Saxon England*, vol. ii., p. 73. This book is the first work on Saxon Architecture that brings together all the evidence of plan, general appearance, and details, and that, moreover, compares what we have here with what is found on the Continent.

latter part of the tenth century, which we know to have been a great period of church building after the raids of the Danes under King Cnut, when Bishops Dunstan of Glastonbury and Æthelwold of Winchester were specially prominent in the work.

In a deed of 705[1] the monastery "at Bradenfeld"[2] is alluded to, but the passage on which the actual building of the church is claimed to be of this date occurs in the life of St. Aldhelm, written by William of Malmesbury[3] (*c.* 1125), and translated runs as follows:—"There is to this day in that place (Bradford) a little church which *is said* to have been built to the honour of the most blessed Laurence."[4] This by no means proves that William of Malmesbury's church is that built by St. Aldhelm.

That a church was built here in the time of St. Aldhelm may be accepted, but why not a wooden (*lignea*) one, which was rebuilt of stone (*ex lapide refectam*) in the tenth century, as we read was done at Doulting in Somersetshire, where Aldhelm died?[5]

The PARISH CHURCH has remains of twelfth century Norman work in the western part of the chancel, with Norman windows that were opened up at the time of its restoration under Canon Jones in 1865-6. The chancel was lengthened in the fourteenth century; the north aisle, tower, and Hall family chapel built at different times in the fifteenth. The interior has been much modernized, but among the interesting features remaining is the decorated recess for a rood in the north aisle wall and portions of several effigies.

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1 *Codex Diplom.*, vol. i., No. 54.

2 This would have been little more than a settlement of two or three monks as a centre for teaching. St. Aldhelm founded three monasteries—Malmesbury, Frome, and Bradford. The former was the sole survivor by William of Malmesbury's time.

3 *Gesta Pontificum*, Rolls Series, p. 346.

4 *Et est ad hunc diem eo loci ecclesiola, quam ad nomen beatissimi Laurentii fecisse predicatur.*

5 *Gesta Pontificum*, Rolls Series, p. 382.

TORY CHAPEL, dedicated to the Virgin, was late fifteenth century work, of which there remained, before the restoration of it, part of one canopied niche at the east end and the pointed east window of three lights with an exterior square hood mould. The chapel had been degraded to a weaving shop, and subsequently was allowed to fall into a ruin. It is mentioned by Leland and Aubrey, who calls it the Hermitage chapel.

The earlier of the two BRIDGES is a little footbridge by the Abbey grange.[1] The town bridge, over the Avon, was originally only of packhorse width; and it is probable that the ribbed portions of the southernmost arches and the pier for the chapel are early fourteenth century; the other arches, for some reason, were built later. A second bridge was built alongside the first, possibly so late as the time of James I., to make a sufficiently wide road for vehicles. In 1501-3 the bridge required a covering called "copyng." The lack of this was "to the grave hurt of the King's people," and the town of Bradford was "given a day to amend, and by Michaelmas next, under a penalty of 40*s*."[2] In 1621 an order was renewed, which had been made on July 15th, 1617, for the repair of the "very fair bridge, consisting of many goodly arches of freestone," which had fallen into a ruinous state. The cost of repairing it was estimated at 200 marks.[3]

The "chapel," finely corbelled out on a specially built pier of the bridge, no doubt belonged to the Hospital of St. Margaret, which stood at the southern end of the bridge.[4] It has been rebuilt, and much of the masonry

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1 Now Barton Farm. (For the BARN belonging to it see "Ancient Barns," page 227.)

2 *Court Roll*, 17, 18 Henry VII., P.R.O.

3 *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, vol. i., 1900—the County of Wilts., etc.

4 "There is a little streate over *Bradeford* Bridge, and at the ende of that is an hospitale of the Kinge's of *Englandes* foundation" (Leland). Canon Jones adds that the hospital called the Old Poor House was standing where the G.W.R. crosses the road, and that the ground was bought by the Railway and the buildings destroyed.

has been cut away, including the niche for a figure looking up stream, doubtless in the same time of James I., when the present roof was put on. Aubrey mentions the "chapel for masse" in the "middest" of the bridge, and it was at one time degraded by being used as a lock-up or Blind House, which is the Wiltshire term.

We have now to consider the second source of interest in Bradford—the wool trade.

An old-fashioned discourse upon English linen and wool manufactory states that the "Divine Providence that appoints to every nation and country a particular Portion seems to allot that to England which was the first acceptable sacrifice to Omnipotency—that of the Flock."[1] The weaving of wool, "the flower and strength and revenue and blood of England," was the "particular portion" of the little town of Bradford, which already, in the time of Leland, was "standing," *i.e.*, subsisting, upon this industry. It was in 1331 that broadcloths began to be manufactured in England; and from that time we may date the increase and improvement of the industry owing to the protection and encouragement given by Edward III. to Flemish weavers, dyers, and fullers. Later in his reign an act was passed appointing certain towns as *staples* or markets for wool, in order that all wool might be conveyed to one or other of these and the tax on it duly collected—the nearest *staple* to Bradford being Bristol. Wiltshire generally, as well as Gloucestershire and Somersetshire, had become largely engaged in the manufacture of red and white broadcloths, of which the breadth was fixed by Statute in 1551 and 1553, and both Horton and Lucas were thriving clothiers in Bradford before the Reformation, about which time Leland visited "the praty clothinge town."

Aubrey records that Henry III. sent into Flanders for

1 *The Linen and Woollen Manufactory discoursed.* Printed at the Request of a Peer of this Realm. London, 1691.

"cloathing manufacturers," whom he placed in the West, and particularly in Seend, where they remained until about 1580, when they removed to Trowbridge, near Bradford, the main reason for this removal being, he conjectures, that the water at Seend "was not proper for the fulling and washing of their cloth."[1] But in Bradford, 1659 is the first known[2] record of the importation of foreign workmen,

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1 "When King Henry the Seventh lived in Flanders with his aunt [*in law*], the Dutchess of Burgundie, he considered that all or most of the wooll that was manufactured there into cloath was brought out of England, and observing what great profit did arise by it, when he came to the crown, he sent into Flanders for cloathing manufacturers, whom he placed in the west, particularly in Send, in Wiltshire, where they built several good houses still remaining. The cloathing trade did flourish here till 1580, when they removed to Troubridge, by reason of (I thinke) a plague." —*Natural History of Wilts.*

2 An Account of Aliens in the Reign of Henry VI. mentions Irish and French, but no Flemings :—

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—— ALIENS 18 HENRY VI.
100

Nomina alienigenarum hospicium tenentium infra hundredum de Bradeford'.

	Pasche.	Sancti Michaelis.
	nihil quia amotus est.	
De Hugone capellano de Bradeford' Hibernico . .	viij^{d}.	viij^{d}.
De Johanne capellano de eadem Hibernico . . .	viij^{d}.	viij^{d}.
De Willelmo Neel de eadem Hibernico	viij^{d}.	viij^{d}.
De Johanne Euerton de cadem Hibernico.. . . .	viij^{d}.	viij^{d}.
De Philippo Flemmyng et Margareta vxore eius de eadem Hibernicis	viij^{d}.	viijd.
De Thoma Kyrkyn de eadem et Guyllelma vxore eius Hibernicis	viij^{d}.	viij^{d}.

Nomina alienigenarum hospicium non tenentium infra hundredum predictum.

	Pasche.	Sancti Michaelis.
	nihil quia amota est.	
De Johanna serviente Johannis Burton' de Bradeford Hibernica	iij^{d}.	iij^{d}.
De Johanne serviente Johannis Burton' de eadem Hibernico	iij^{d}.	iij^{d}.
De Agnete serviente Thome Wolleygh' de eadem Hibernica	iij^{d}.	iij^{d}.
De Michaele serviente Willelmi Neel de eadem Hibernico	iij^{d}.	iij^{d}.
De Katerina serviente Johannis Stone de eadem Hibernica	iij^{d}.	iij^{d}.
De Roberto Frensshman de eadem Gallico . . .	iij^{d}.	iij^{d}.
De Petro serviente Willelmi Smyth de eadem Gallico .	iij^{d}.	iij^{d}.
De Johanne serviente Johannis Heyne de eadem Gallico	iij^{d}.	iij^{d}.
De Johanne serviente Thome Thropenell de Attward' Gallico	iij^{d}.	iij^{d}.

a "Richard Jonson otherwise Derricke Jonson spiner with Hectrie his wife and 7 children from Amsterdam in Holland"—being brought in by a Paul Methwin, the leading clothier of the time, who died the same year.[1]

It was no doubt from fear that the aliens might be a burden to the town that their importers were obliged, like Mr. Wm. Brewer, in 1674, to "give his bond of £100 to save harmless the parish of Bradford against the Dutchmen." It is interesting that the part of the town where the "spinners" lived, at the west end of Church Street, is still called Dutch Barton.

The latter part of the seventeenth and the early part of the eighteenth century seem to have been periods of great prosperity.[2] In 1677, John Emling, of Standewick, in the county of Somerset, "a wool-breaker," is desirous of settling in the town, because "worke is more plenty there"; and in the year 1723 there were twenty-eight clothiers in the parish of Bradford, the greater part of them in the town itself.[3]

It is not generally noticed that the commercial treaty with Portugal (1763) known as the Methuen Treaty, by which, by giving preference to Portuguese wines we

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1 "Mr. Paul Methwin of Bradford succeeded his father-in-law in the trade, and was the greatest cloathier of his time (*temp.* Caroli 2nd). He was a worthy gentleman, and died about 1667. Now (*temp.* Jacobi II.) Mr. Brewer of Troubridge driveth the greatest trade for medleys of any cloathier in England."—*Natural History of Wiltshire.* John Aubrey. Ed., John Britton. 1847.

2 In a catalogue of seventeenth century trade tokens in the Museum of the Wiltshire Archæological Society at Devizes, the following inhabitants of Bradford are mentioned as having issued them:—

"William Baily, mercer, 1668.
"William Chandler, 1650.
"Daniel Deverell, 1663.
"John Gage, 1649.
"Jacob Selbee, 1665.
"Paule Methwin" (without date).

3 Aubrey had a bad opinion of the "cloathiers" and spinners of Wiltshire. "Our cloathiers combine against the wool-masters, and keep their spinners just alive; they steale hedges, spoile coppices, and are trained up as nurseries of sedition and rebellion."—*Natural History of Wiltshire.*

secured admission for English woollens into Portugal at duties which left them in command of the market, was the work of a representative of a great "cloathing" family of Bradford, who had doubtless an interest in promoting the industry of his town.

Francis Yerbury, another well-known name among the town's clothiers (d. 1778), introduced into the wool trade, "after much application and many trials," some of the plans and contrivances used in the weaving of silk, and his improvements were adopted.[1]

A great change came over the conditions of the weavers with the advent of machinery and the consequent factory system, when, instead of working on their own hand-looms in their own cottages, the "hands" were collected into large buildings or factories, generally specially erected, sometimes a mere makeshift, such as the small "Chapel of our Lady" in Tory. The history of the introduction of new machines is not entirely peaceful.[2] Just as in earlier times inventive genius was termed "subtle imagination," and any substitute for the "manufacture by hands and feet" was regarded as conducive to the final undoing of the industry concerned, so there was great discontent in 1791 when a certain Bradford manufacturer[3] converted some old carding engines into a scribbling machine, which the hand scribblers believed would throw them out of work. A mob five hundred

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1 In the Patent, which is dated 26 Aug., 6 George III., is recited: "Francis Yerbury, after much application and many trials, attended with much expense, about four years ago invented and brought to perfection a new method of making thin superfine cloth for the summer season at home and warmer climates abroad, and yet, notwithstanding the thinness of its texture, it is more durable than cloth of a much greater substance made in the common way."

Bradford has boasted in all seven patentees, but not all connected with the cloth trade.

"No. 13,182, July 17, 1850.

"Ezekiel Edmonds the younger, of Bradford, cloth manufacturer, 'Woollen fabrics.'"

2 In 1766-7 there were riots on rise of prices of provisions. In 1787, great manufacturing disturbances.

3 Mr. Phelps.

strong gathered before the house, and proceeded to break his windows. Mr. Phelps and his friends fired upon the rioters, killing three persons; but in the end he was obliged to surrender his unpopular machine to be burnt upon the town bridge.[1]

All the best HOUSES in the town are, as it were, "built upon wool-packs."

An interesting early seventeenth century building in the town is the Duke's or Kingston House, now known as "The Hall." It was built by the family of Hall, who were rich clothiers here, and it takes its name from the Duke of Kingston, to whom it passed by marriage. The garden front, with its bay windows, the plan of which is extremely fine, and its terrace with steps and parapet, is an effective piece of design, but the details of ornament are heavy and not typically English. The house, which had fallen into disrepair and was at one time used as a wool warehouse, was carefully restored by the present owner's father.

Another noteworthy family connected with Bradford is that of the Methuens, who at one time occupied the fifteenth century house now fancifully called "The Priory," which retains its original groined porch and timber roof to the hall, and also has some good late seventeenth century woodwork. The "Chantry House" was built early in the sixteenth century by Thomas de Iford, a clothier, and has additions from designs by Inigo Jones.

Of the eighteenth century is Belcombe "Villa," which Wood designed for Francis Yerbury in 1734, as a small residential addition to a large factory near by. Its designer describes "the south front adorned with pilasters of Ionic order" as "forming the best tetrastyle frontispiece in square pillars that hath yet been executed in or about Bath."[2] The house is approached by a paved courtyard; on the right is a dovecot built of stone, originally

[1] Later, in 1841, the failure of a local bank and of several of the largest manufacturers threw hundreds out of work.

[2] *Eighteenth Century Architecture of Bath.* Mowbray Green. 1904.

square in plan, but since widened, and supporting a circular drum. Inside the drum are the pigeon-holes, and above a stone dome and cupola; the dovecot appears to be older than Wood's building.

Among the most interesting smaller houses between the Chantry and the Church is that of Orpen, the "Parish Clerk" whom Gainsborough painted. The curious small glass squares are said to be his ingenious method of avoiding Pitt's window tax. All lights at a certain distance from each other were liable to be taxed as separate windows, and by putting in these two loophole lights Orpen reduced the distances between his main windows, and was rated for one, instead of for three! Of picturesque little houses there are fortunately still a great number indeed; and it is the multitude of these that make Bradford, as a whole, one of the most interesting and unspoilt smaller towns in England.

ALICE DRYDEN.

ANCIENT BARNS IN WILTSHIRE

A CONSIDERABLE interest pertains to the subject of old barns, some of which were connected with monastic houses, others merely fine examples of early farm buildings. Wiltshire can claim several tithe barns of the former class, and many of the second class which, by reason of the excellence of their construction, their great size, and the presence of certain architectural features, are well worthy of notice. In the case of tithe barns, the notable examples are those of Bradford-on-Avon, Tisbury, and Lacock, the two former being originally attached to "Granges" of the Abbey of Shaftesbury. These "Granges," or monastic farms, invariably possessed tithe barns which, if smaller than those connected with the abbeys themselves, were sufficiently capacious for their requirements, the larger barns being probably used almost entirely for tithes of hay and corn. With regard to the origin of tithes themselves, we find that a tenth part of the produce of the land was by ancient custom, and afterwards by law, set aside for the use of the clergy. To King Offa, of Mercia, is ascribed the first introduction of tithes into England, he having given to the church all the tithes of his kingdom to expiate the death of Ethelbert, whom he had basely murdered in the midst of the nuptial ceremony which was to unite in marriage the young prince and his own daughter. Subsequently tithes were granted to the English clergy in an assembly held by Ethelwold, in 844. St. Augustine, on the advice of Pope Gregory, also adopted a plan for dividing the contributions of the faithful into four parts—

one part for the bishop, one part for the clergy, one part for the church fabrics, and one part for the poor. It was not, however, until the year 1200 A.D. that tithes were ordered to be paid to the particular parish in which they arose. To this innovation may be ascribed the existence of the tithe barns of which we are about to speak. For more than six centuries, or, to be accurate, until the year 1836, all tithes were paid in kind, and consisted of the actual produce of the land, such as grain, herbs, peas, hay, straw, and wool. Consequently, it became necessary to make ample provision for the proper storage of such tithes, which in the case of wealthy abbeys and other religious houses were of considerable value. For this purpose the capacious barns to which we have referred were erected, and many of these still remain intact, and may be counted among the most interesting items of domestic architecture. As a rule they are conspicuous erections, and easily distinguished from the later farm buildings which have grown up around them. Indeed in some instances they resemble closely, and excel in beauty of proportion, some of our village churches. The general plan varies from a plain parallelogram to the cruciform; some possess single or double transepts which form entrance porches, while some have the appearance internally of a nave and aisles owing to the arcades of timber supporting the roof. The tithe barns attached to the great monasteries are the best, and in those parts of the country where building material is most easily obtainable the finest instances are naturally to be found. Some of the older examples have their plain wall surfaces ornamentally broken up by many supporting buttresses. Entrance to them is gained by folding doors in the porches, for the most part under a four-centred arch. Such ornamentation as is found will generally appear on the drip-stones over the doorways, and the finials on the point of the gables. In some instances, as at Pilton in Somerset, a building of Perpendicular style dating from the reign of Richard II., the emblems of the four Evangelists

are introduced in the gables. All, or nearly all, barns measuring upwards of eighty feet in length were originally monastic, and there are many smaller examples that are undoubtedly of monastic origin.

It is possible that there are a few examples of tithe barns dating back to the thirteenth century, but here the absence of decoration and the simplicity of plan renders it difficult to date them with any certainty. When we come to the fourteenth century there are scattered about the country a good many interesting specimens. Several of these, as we have said, are to be found in Wiltshire. That at Bradford-on-Avon, part of Barton farm, is picturesquely situated beneath a hill, and is surrounded with other farm buildings of by no means unattractive character. The porch to the farm house, and the gate house, which has a fine early Perpendicular window to the north, are of somewhat later date than the barn, which dates from the middle of the fourteenth century, or possibly somewhat earlier, and is built with finely-jointed masonry and carefully tooled dressings. The internal length is 167 feet 6 inches, the width 30 feet 3 inches. The side walls are 2 feet 6 inches in thickness, and rise 13 feet 10 inches; the end walls are 4 feet thick, and rise 39 feet to their apices.[1] The usual form of oilets, evidently designed rather for ventilation than for light in most of the bays, are varied by ornamental cruciform openings in the west gable and over each porch. To the northward are two cart porches 20 feet in width, with plain chamfered mouldings and buttressed angles; in the side of each is a small obtuse pointed door for general use, having a plain chamfer outside and a simple wave moulding on the rear arch. Opposite in the south wall are two shallower porches, 16 feet wide, without buttresses. The portions of the doors which are of feather-edged planks of oak

[1] These measurements are taken from an account of the barn in *The Antiquary*, July, 1903, by Francis B. Andrews, A.R.I.B.A.

kept together with long iron hinges and large-headed nails are doubtless original, and should be valued accordingly. The stone walls are supported by single stage buttresses, which divide the length into about 11 feet bays. From the unusual number and the fact that they are not properly bonded in, also from the bulging of the walls, it appears as if they were not part of the original plan, but had to be added by necessity later. The gable copings are decorated at their apices with foliated saddlestones, and on the western part with tall crosses or considerably attenuated finials; on the eastern part with a different pattern finial. This, the difference in the walling in the eastern end, and the solid block under the ridge piece finishing the easternmost principals, suggest that this part of the building is rather later than the rest.

The interior shows the magnificent timbering of the roof, the curved principals of which are let into the wall. These timbers were hewn out of the crooked trees, and suitable large trees for such roofs were greatly sought for.[1]

The barn at Tisbury, which is later than Bradford, is another interesting example of a monastic tithe barn. The manor of Tisbury was held by the Abbess of Shaftesbury until the dissolution of monastic houses, when the last abbess, Elizabeth Zouch, surrendered it into the hands of Henry VIII. The manor house itself, variously called "Place Farm" and the "Grange," was one of the outlying possessions of the great abbey. There is still the ancient fifteenth century gatehouse, with two pointed arches, the larger being sufficiently spacious to admit a loaded wagon, and the smaller a person on horseback. Above the arches is a room used as a granary. The remains of the house prove it to have been a building of considerable size. The beautiful octagonal fifteenth century kitchen chimney is remarkable. The east end of

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[1] The barn is still the property of the Lord of the Manor (Sir Charles Hobhouse, Bart.), who has repaired it judiciously.

Roof of Tithe Barn, Tisbury.

the farmyard is enclosed by the tithe barn, to which there are three entrances, corresponding to as many threshing floors, the centre entrance being distinguished from the rest by its porch surmounted by a gable over a pointed archway. The roof, with upper and lower collar beams, and massive principals rising from the interior of the wall, is very similar to the Bradford example.

The internal length of Tisbury is 188 feet 3 inches, the breadth 32 feet 3 inches, and the area of roof 1,450 square yards. It has been much restored, the roof stripped of its stone-slate covering and re-done with thatch, and the two door heads in the side porches, formerly flat, replaced with arches. Taken as a whole, it is neither so fine nor so interesting as Bradford.

Lacock, near Chippenham, possesses a good fourteenth century barn, the peculiarity of which consists in its irregular plan, due to the shape of the site on which it stands. It is exactly opposite to the Red Lion Inn, and must not be confused with the sixteenth century building at the lodge-gates of Lacock Abbey, which was originally constructed as a stable.

There are other examples of fine old barns in Wiltshire, which, although they may not be able to claim any connection with religious houses, are eminently interesting by reason of their massive form and particular style of construction. Aubrey especially mentions that at Wolfhall as "a very long barne of . . . bays, and 3 porches of timber, and thacht. In this barne, then 1536, hung with tapistry, was the wedding kept for Queen Jane." It is 172 feet long by 26 feet wide, and Canon Jackson, writing in 1874, mentions that on the walls and beams could still be seen the hooks and nails which supported the tapestry and other hangings used to decorate it for the wedding festivities nearly four hundred years ago. Wolfhall itself was the property of the Seymour family from the time of Henry VI., and it was the daughter of Sir John Seymour, Lady Jane, "a young lady

of singular beauty and merit," who had the misfortune to attract the attention of King Henry VIII., and subsequently to become, for somewhat more than eighteen months, his Queen. One day only intervened between the beheading of Anne and the marriage with Lady Jane. Wolfhall was not, as has often been stated, the scene of the actual wedding of Jane Seymour and Henry VIII., although it is probable that the barn was the scene of festivities in connection with that event. The marriage itself took place at Hampton Court. Henry had, however, on several occasions been entertained at Wolfhall, and, likely enough, had feasted in the old barn. In the account books of the Earl of Hertford appears the following entry in connection with one of these visits:—

> Paid to Cornish the paynter for dyvers colours by him brought for makyng certeyn fretts and antiques on canves for my Lord's Barn and House at Wulfhaull agenst the King's coming thether 9th August [1539], and for his cost in being sent to London for the same colours—31*s.* 8*d.*

It appears from further entries that the Royal party were accommodated at the manor house, which the Seymours vacated, taking up their residence in the barn themselves. Mention is made of payments to "paynters, joyners, carpenters, and others," who were engaged "in preparing and trimming of the Barne at Wulfhall wherein my Lord lay." Mr. W. Maurice Adams has collected some valuable notes on the subject in a little work entitled *Wolfhall and Tottenham*, in which appears a sketch of the barn taken prior to the destruction of a considerable portion of it. He has, however, adhered to the local tradition that the Royal marriage actually took place at Wolfhall.

Among other examples of old barns are Melksham (now used as a schoolroom), Stockton and Cherhill. The latter is timber-built, 111 feet long and 37½ feet wide, and greatly resembles a church, owing to the great supporting posts and beams forming a nave of seven bays,

and north and south aisles; and the stone porches further heighten the illusion by suggesting the transepts. It probably dates from the fifteenth century.

Hill Deverill has still considerable remains of a fifteenth century building of the character of a tithe barn attached to the old manor house of the Ludlows. Pickwick, near Corsham, is one of the fine sixteenth century domestic barns remaining like that at Great Chalfield. At Biddestone, near the manor-house, is a very plain tithe barn in good condition.

PERCY MUNDY.

SALISBURY PLAIN

A wondrous pyle of rugged mountaynes stand,
Placed on each other in a dreare arraie.
It ne could be the work of human hands,
It ne was raisëd up by men of claie.
Here did the Britons adoration paye
To the false god who they did Tauran name,
Lyghtynge his altare with great fyers in baie,
Roasting their victims round about the flame.
'Twas here that Hengist did the Britons slee
As they were met in council for to bee.

—*Chatterton.*

AMONG other writers, Thomas Jefferson Hogg, in his *Life of Shelley*, speaks of his visit to Salisbury Plain. And he did well to visit Stonehenge in winter, for those who have seen it at all times know that it is best seen at this season, when the stones loom suddenly near and black as iron in the slanting rain, or stand dimly outlined in the dark of a winter day.

Hogg writes:—

I continued my journey over a vast plain. Not a dead level, but gently undulating, and covered with snow. After a time I reached Amesbury, which seemed, notwithstanding a thick covering of snow, a pleasant spot, a fruitful oasis in the midst of a desert. I readily found my way to the celebrated Stonehenge. It is a wonderful monument, of a most remote and unknown antiquity; *but I could not think that there was much to see there.* Many sheep had found shelter among the ruins, and were attended by two or three shepherds. I remembered when a child I had read with pleasure some tale of the shepherds of Salisbury Plain. Here he was then; I had found him at last! The shepherds were very civil to me; they seemed deeply impressed with the importance of the locality, and explained various matters to me. One of them gave to me at

Salisbury Plain.

parting a piece which he had himself broken off, and he pointed out the stone from which he had taken it, fitting it into its place exactly. Then they pointed out to me the road to Salisbury, telling me when I should see the tall spire before me; a distance of about six miles.

I have italicised one phrase in this quotation; that in which Hogg says, "there is not much to be seen here," speaking of Stonehenge. It is a remark that is so often made by those who see it for the first time, that it seems worth discussing. The truth is, the place is so strange and perplexing, so baffling to quick, eager minds, or to such as take, as Hogg did, a cursory view of it, that they often arrive at this conclusion. They would be more correct were they to say: "There is not much to be said about it," for this is abundantly true. But there is no limit to what may be seen here if we "bring to the seeing." Britton, in his *Beauties of England and Wales*, writes:—

At a distance this monument appears only a small trifling object, for its bulk and character are lost in the vastness of the open space around it. On a nearer approach and closer examination it commonly fails to astonish or even to satisfy the stranger. It must be viewed with the eye of the antiquary and the artist, and contemplated by a mind stored with historical knowledge, to be properly understood and appreciated.

And later on he remarks in a fine sentence, redolent of his date—

Whilst the learned have at once amused and bewildered themselves with theoretical speculations concerning its origin and uses, the vulgar have contemplated its remains with superstitious amazement and awe.

Perhaps Hogg's account of the generous shepherd who had himself chipped off the fragment he gave away may count in favour of the fence around the stones, about which there has been so great an outcry. It preserves the ruin, bitter though its presence must be to those who knew the place before. There is no doubt Stonehenge owes its dilapidation as much to the hand of man as to the passage of the ages. Stones were removed, no doubt, to build with in the days when no one cared to preserve its welfare, and in these later days of appreciation, the

zealous tourist may well have brought out a little hammer to gain a chip.

The shepherds of Salisbury Plain are becoming rarer, for farmers are taking largely to fence in their Down pastures. But the shepherd is here still, in many instances with his long black cloak falling from neck to heels, and round felt hat like Hermes' cap without the wings to it, and sometimes a bunch of blue milk-wort or a yellow hawk-weed in the brim. And he leads his sheep, for he does not always drive them. He goes with his plume-tailed dog in front, and the sheep follow, as you may see it in the East. Aubrey, in the *Natural History of Wilts.*, tells us of the shepherds of Salisbury Plain—

> Their habit, I believe, is that of the Roman or Arcadian shepherds—a long white cloake with a very deep cape, which comes half-way down their backs, made of the locks of sheep. There was a sheep-crooke, a sling, a scrip, their tar-box, a pipe or flute, and their dog. But since 1671 they are grown so luxurious as to neglect their ancient warme and useful fashion, and go *a la mode*. Before the civill wars I remember many of them made straw hatts, which I think is now left off.

Barnes has a vivid picture-line about sheep in one of his poems that brings the flock before you as you read:—

> The ox with sleek hide, and with low swimming head,
> And the sheep, little-kneed, with a quick-dipping nod.

And those who live in South Wiltshire grow to recognize in the folds and flocks and the sound of the bells—"the tinkling bell-notes falling clear and cold"—a leading feature of the plain.

On these large tracts of land, these undulating sweeps with the low horizon, the ancient sport of hawking is carried on; of all sports in its pretty accessories the most romantic—the green livery of the servants, the gauntlet glove, the covered van filled with hawks placed in rows and almost motionless, because hooded and, for the time, bereft of sight; the soft bells on the jesses, and when these are removed the swift turn of the beautiful head

from right to left, held so erect, and then as swiftly couched and lowered; the burning eyes and perfect poise of body set broad on the trampling thighs; and then the flight; the speed of the pursuer against the craft of the pursued; the clear ringing cries of the falconer as he runs forward over the smooth turf—this is the sport of kings.

The hawking club of Salisbury Plain was first started in the early sixties by Mr. Newcombe, Col. Duncombe, Major Fisher, and Lord Ormonde. They stayed at the old Bustard Inn, halfway between Salisbury and Devizes, an inn that exists no more. They brought their hawks with them every spring, following the sport till the progress of the crops allowed no longer of its continuance. Now the club stays for part of the hawking season at the Crown Inn, Everley, at the George Inn, Amesbury; and for the greater part of the time at Shrewton.

In some places on Salisbury Plain, bordering a grassy track that is yet a road from one place to another, you will see small heaps of chalk placed continuously. These are called "Down Lights," and are recognized as such by those who have to drive in the gathering dusk, for the chalk catches what light there is, and glimmers white in the twilight. And for the farmer who has to drive home in the dark they are invaluable, for so long as the light of his lamps falls on these little heaps in succession he knows he is on the track. These green roads in early summer are again marked out in white; but this time by daisies. The eye can follow the down track from far, as it winds away like a loosely-flung ribbon, white against the green. At first it is not easy to see how it comes that on the spot most trodden there should the flowers be. But a moment's thought makes the matter clear. It is the coarser kinds of grass on the Downs that choke the daisy plants, and in such parts only where wheels are frequent are these taller grasses kept close. Yet there is seldom enough traffic to cut or scar the land.

Here, close to these Down-roads, you may find the eggs of the stone-curlew, or set the little plover running, like a tawny ball of fluff, while the parent birds circle and scream beyond you, to draw attention from their young. Here also, on the light-coloured ploughed land, you may find the "Shepherd's Crown" or fossil sea-urchin, and in the rabbit scratches beneath the juniper pick up an empty snail-shell of a pure rose pink. And in every shape, fantastic and irregular, lies scattered the broken flint; grey as agate, or again dark as a forest pool, and holding sometimes a rounded grotto of crystal in its core.

If Stonehenge be better seen in winter, it is well that most visitors see this country in the summer months, for then the Downs are at their loveliest; feathery with meadow-sweet set on a ruby stem, or powdered with the gold of infinite cowslips that sweeten all the air. Again pale purple with scabious in the mass, or later in the year's pageant soft with hosts of thistle-down blowing before the wind. Only one instance do I know where this feature of the Downs is recorded; it is in the work of Mr. Hudson, where, in his book *Nature in Downland*, he gives the subject of thistle-down the fitting area of a chapter to itself.

It is by reason of the very wideness of the landscape one is permitted to see each flower in its season in the mass. It is true that should one stoop to pick, it is to find each individual flower an attenuated instance of its kind; punied by the wind, perhaps, or starved to an ethereal delicacy by the lean chalk soil; but leave it among its fellows on the turf, and you are treading, if it be cowslip time, on a sheet of gold.

The people of Wiltshire speak of preparing flints for building purposes as "knapping" the flints. This means striking them at a certain angle, which rids them of the calcareous covering they have acquired while lying in the ground; for flints are still used with stone to build with, and a beautiful texture is given to wall surfaces of the

manor houses and cottages where the old chequer pattern of stone and flint is used.

The mud-walling is a common feature where there is plenty of chalk marl to be found, and it is one of the oldest forms of wall structure. It is said in Wiltshire: "Gi'e un a good hat and stout boots, and a mud wall 'ull stand as long as any"; which means it must have a brick foundation and a good coping, and the wall will be impervious to the weather.

It is a sensible way to build, moreover, for your material is on the spot beneath you, and that which you take from the ground makes your walls around you, and leaves a dry cellarage for the cottage built above. The principle is the same as that of a swallow's nest; mud and moisture, with straw to hold and bind.

The chalk marl should be fairly fine, and spread on the ground in a convenient quantity, a little water poured over it, and a few handfuls of straw sprinkled on the top. This is turned with a shovel and then well mixed; and this can be most satisfactorily done by a man in a strong pair of boots, treading it up and down. After the foundations are taken out, the brick or concrete wall should rise about eighteen inches, the higher the better, perhaps, so that the moisture from the ground may not affect the wall. The material is placed on with a shovel, and packed as tightly as possible. It should not be laid more than 1 ft. 6 in. in height at a time, and this is continued all along the wall in process, so that what is done has time to stiffen and to set hard.

The width of mud walls is generally 1 ft. 6 in. to 2 ft. wide, and they are the best for cottages—warm in winter and cool in summer, when brick walls, narrow as they so often are, bake the room within. The walls are plastered over when finished; and a flowering peach tree nailed against the warm cream colour of the chalk, and set under a good brown thatch, is as pretty a thing as you can see.

One of the features of the villages of Salisbury Plain is the chalk stream or bourne that leaves its channel dry in summer, only flowing full and brimming through the winter months. As the grass grows in the dry bed in summer, the water, when it springs, flows full and silent over a green bed, and the long blades of grass all laid one way in the clear flow, and the silver-weed, drenched and lovely, deep in the current of the stream.

These bournes flow right through the villages, spanned by narrow bridges of lichen-grown wood, or each house has its little wooden footway leading to the threshold of the door.

The Wiltshire people have a phraseology and diction of their own. They express themselves forcibly and clearly with many well-found old words and sentences that have dropped out in the busier thoroughfares of life, for, as Horne Tooke put it, "letters, like tired soldiers, fall out upon the march." Thus we have the old English plural nestës as you find it in Chaucer, and postës for posts, beside descriptive sounding words such as "glutsh" for swallow. ("Oh! his throat's not so bad but what he can glutsh.") And their conversation is full of vivid phrase. An old house was moved, to be built up again in another situation, and having traditionally been haunted, in the popular mind it did not leave its ghost behind—"Why, only last Friday (and all the scaffolding gone and carried too) there was such a noise in the attics as if all the poles were being flung about. You could hear it plainly. And we not only heerd 'un, for Jim saw him too; and there he stood, as big as a calf and as white as a blossom."

I have sometimes thought among the many stories of death-bed utterances there is hardly one that can surpass the message of George, the late Earl of Pembroke. And surely the folk of this county may be proud when they remember the man who spoke: "Tell the Wiltshire people how I love them."

Those who live near the Downs, and have come to know these, miss the freedom of their beauty in other parts. Large woods oppress them; hills seem altogether too high and near; walls, though crannied with moss and fern fronds, restrict and constrain; and as for hedges, they seem like blinkers upon the sight. It is not that they do not see beauty in these things, but they learn to want the road that has for its sole margin the crimson sainfoin and flowering toad-flax and the slender wheat; or the road that lies like a white thread across the Down, turning sickle-shaped towards the stack, built on the sky-line. They learn to love the large ragged thorn hedges that define, here and there, the wide sheep tracks, and the dew-ponds that lie filled with sky colour, on the green heights; the grey shoulders of the upland set in such contrast with the lush greenness of the valley below; the water-meadows and the pollard stems; the square-towered Churches; the old mills with their rusty bye-gone machinery, and the wide-spanned barns. They grow to feel the eye may rest on these things, rest and find delight; and in the low horizon, and the wealth of sky it brings,

May feast as on the wideness of the Sea.

PAMELA TENNANT.

PRE-NORMAN SCULPTURED STONES IN WILTSHIRE

WE have unusually direct and early evidence of the erection of stone crosses in Wiltshire. In the year 709, Aldhelm, the first Bishop of Wiltshire and the south-west, with his seat at Sherborne, died at Doulting in Somerset. As his life from boyhood to 705 had been spent at Malmesbury, as student and as abbat, it was natural that he should be buried at that ancient place. William of Malmesbury tells us that stone crosses were set up along the route by which the body was taken from Doulting to Malmesbury, one each seven miles. He further quotes the words of Bishop Ecguin to the following effect:—

> Learning by revelation that the religious bishop Aldhelm had migrated to the Lord, I called together the brethren and attendants, and opened to them the departure of the ever to be venerated father. With all haste I reached the spot where the sacred body lay, about 50 miles beyond the monastery of Meldun. Thence I took it to the place of sepulture and buried it with all honour, ordering[1] the erection of the sign of the holy cross at each place where the body rested on the journey.

All the crosses, William adds, remained to his day (1125), not one of them showing signs of decay. They

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1 This is one of the many evidences of the close inter-communion between Mercia and Wessex. It might have been supposed that the other of the West Saxon bishops would have performed these functions, especially as Daniel himself was a Malmesbury man. Bishop Ecguin of Worcester was of course Mercian. Ecclesiastical comity was already disregarding political divisions. We have here in embryo the unification of the kingdoms of the Heptarchy under the example of the Church of England.

were called Biscopstane, Bishopstones. One was plainly to be seen in the monks' cloister at Malmesbury. We can only add, cloister and cross alike are gone.

Putting together the two facts that William says for himself that the crosses were placed each seven miles, and that he quotes Ecguin as saying that Doulting was about fifty miles from Malmesbury, and that a cross was set up at each resting-place on the way, we must suppose that there were seven stages of the journey, each of about seven miles. The distance from Doulting to Malmesbury by the shortest way, as ways now are, is not nearly fifty miles, and we have to create for ourselves a circuitous route to account for that length of road. On the face of it we should say

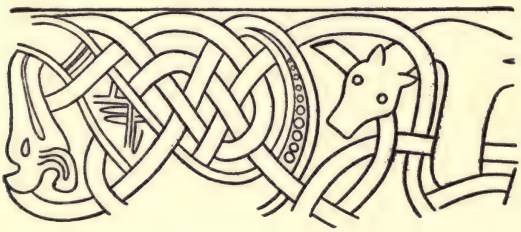

FIG. 1.—Frome.

that they were sure to take the body to Frome and to Bradford-on-Avon, two of Aldhelm's own foundations as places of learning. Using this as a hint of the probable route, we find some interesting facts.

From Doulting to Frome is about seven miles. If they went thence to Bradford, the second day's journey was a good deal more than seven miles. It happens that Bishopstrow, so called from the bishop's tree, with a church dedicated to St. Aldhelm, is about seven miles east of Frome, beyond Warminster.

It was there, more probably than at Stoke Orchard, that the legendary event must be placed of Aldhelm's leaning on his ashen staff through so long a sermon that the staff took root and burgeoned with ash leaves in his hand. It

seems not at all unlikely that they would go there to rest on the second night. But if they did, they would not get

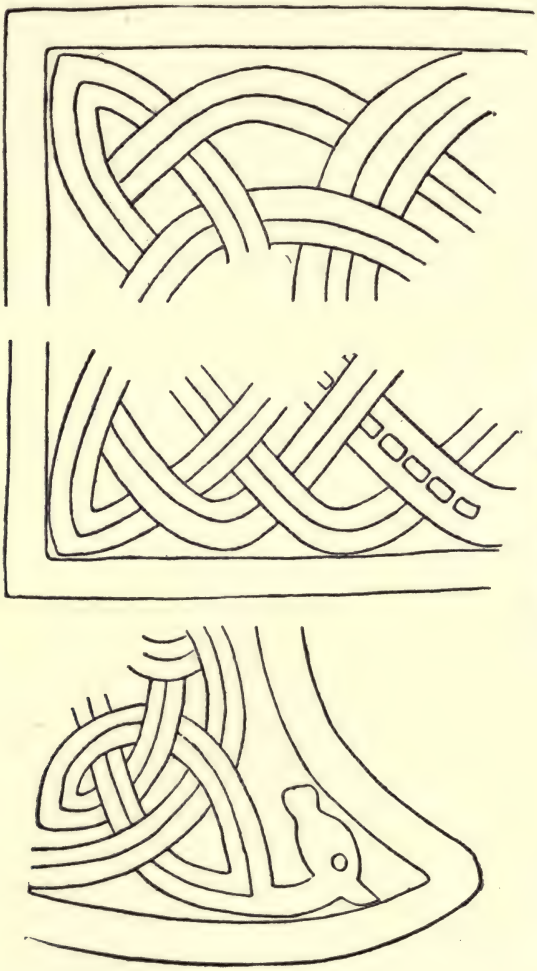

FIG. 2.—Bradford-on-Avon.

to Bradford on the third day, and some place which we cannot identify was their third resting-place; this would necessitate our cutting out one of the places yet to be

PLATE 1. –BATH.

PLATE 2.—COLERNE.

mentioned. At Doulting we have still St. Aldhelm's well. At Frome, we have still a portion of a Saxon sculptured stone, of which an outline is given in figure 1. At Bradford, we have still parts of a stone cross, certainly of the Saxon period, and probably early in the period, fig. 2. At Bath, about the required distance from Bradford, we still have a part of an Anglo-Saxon cross of the same type as that at Bradford (plate 1). At Colerne, which lies between Bath and Malmesbury, to the east of the Fosseway, we have two remarkable fragments of Anglo-Saxon crosses, more complicated in style than those already mentioned, with very fine lacertine ornamentation (plate 2). At Littleton Drew, on the west of the Fosseway, and about seven or eight miles from Malmesbury, we have two fine sculptured stones, the one of which fits on to the top of the other, together forming the shaft of a cross, about six feet high, so that the whole cross was nearly or quite nine feet high. These portions of the shaft are mainly covered with vegetable ornament, but there is a skilful application of the interlacing ornament on one large panel; this again differs fundamentally from all the other crosses named. The stones at Littleton Drew are remarkable among early sculptured stones of the south-west in having the remains of an inscription. There is one very complete and fine A, of the same size and type as the Latin letters on the Ruthwell Cross in Dumfriesshire, which was probably erected nearly twenty-five years before Aldhelm's death (fig. 3). If the funeral procession went from Bath along the Fosseway and turned off to Colerne, and there rested; and next day joined the Fosseway again by the same road and moved up towards Malmesbury, turning off to Littleton Drew for the night; and next day moved from Littleton Drew to Malmesbury; we should have three stages of the required length from Bath to Malmesbury, with crosses or parts of crosses still remaining at all of the supposed resting-places, Bath, Colerne, Littleton Drew, and with William's

statement that in 1125 the final stone cross still remained in the cloister at Malmesbury.

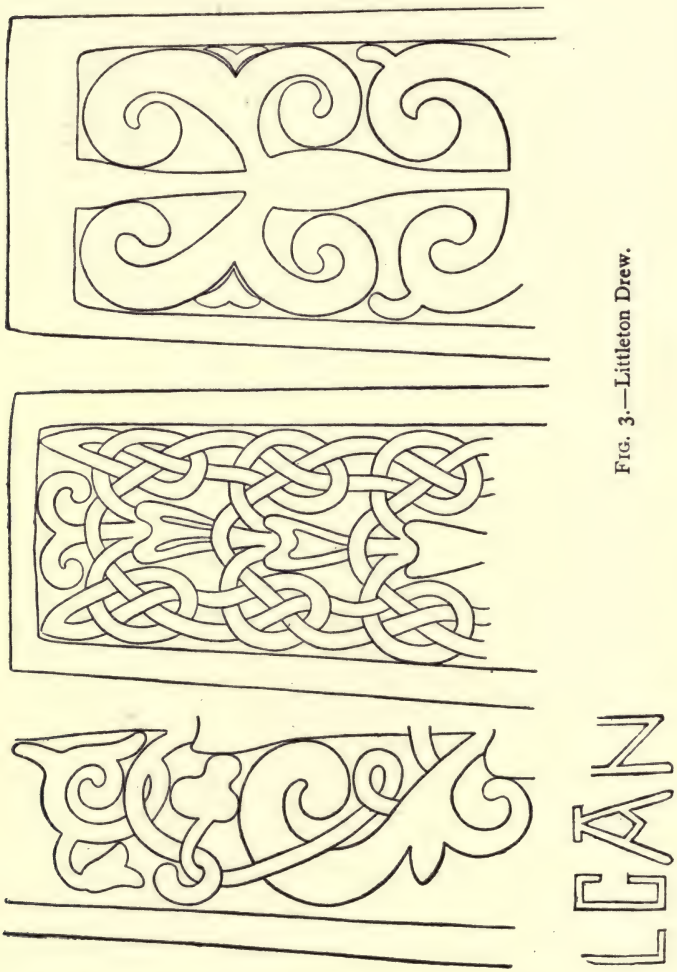

FIG. 3.—Littleton Drew.

This leaves one of the resting-places not named. It is an obvious suggestion that the funeral procession passed from Frome to Westbury, where the dedication of the

PLATE 3.—SCULPTURED STONES, RAMSBURY.

Church to All Saints speaks of Anglo-Saxon times, while the moated site known as the Palace Garden, and the famous White Horse, and the remains of Roman occupation, point to a residence of Anglo-Saxon kings and a selection of the place for residence in earlier times still. If we adopt this suggestion, the body rested on its way from Doulting to Malmesbury, and the stone crosses were set up, at Frome, Westbury, Bradford, Bath, Colerne, Littleton, and Malmesbury, thus making the journey in seven stages. Five of these places are in Wiltshire, and excepting Westbury, we have, or know of, stone crosses at each.

In 1891 a large collection of Saxon sculptured stones was found at Ramsbury in Wiltshire. Ramsbury became one of the seats of the Wiltshire bishopric in the year 909, when, in the language of the Anglo-Saxon lists written within a hundred years of the event, still in excellent preservation in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, the see of Sherborne, Aldhelm's own see, was divided into three *parrochiae*, Sherborne (for Dorset), Wells (for Somerset), and Crediton (for Devon and parts of Cornwall), while the see of Winton was divided into two *parrochiae*, Winton itself, which Frithestan held, and another which Athelstan held. This latter was called variously, according to the place at which the bishop set his seat, the see of Ramsbury, of Wilton, and of Sunning. The first and the last of those names point to the union of Berks with Wilts to form this see.

Ramsbury, we must understand, was an important ecclesiastical place in itself, or it would not have been selected as the seat of the bishop of the newly formed diocese. During recent restorations at Ramsbury they discovered the foundations of a pre-Norman church running parallel to the chancel wall of the present (thirteenth century) church, and about three feet outside it. In immediate contiguity with these foundations two fine sculptured stones were dug up, and three were found near

the same spot, in the external south-east angle of the present church. The several stones have fine patterns of interlacements, well executed. They are beautifully fresh and clear and white, as white as the whitest Bath stone of to-day. Evidently they have not been exposed to the weather. Two of them are body stones, and the others are shafts of the accompanying crosses. The diagram of the pattern on one side of one of the shafts, given in figure 4, shows that in the case of this monument the ornamentation was lacertine, or dragonesque, unlike the other

FIG. 4.—Ramsbury.

of the two monuments. The voids in the dragon's convolutions are not due to decay, of which there is no sign; they are due to the fact that the stone has been at some time broken into several pieces, and at the fractures the raised work has been destroyed. Enough is left to show that the convolutions of one serpent formed the whole pattern, and for one conversant with this kind of work it would be easy to complete the pattern and show the creature's tail coming to its appointed end. We know that at Glastonbury Abbat Tica was buried at the right

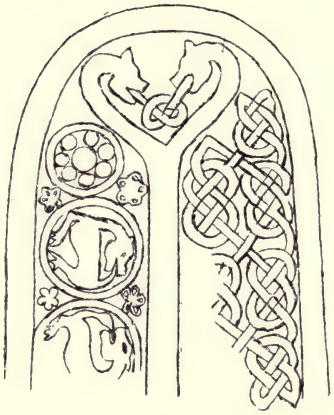

PLATE 4.—RAMSBURY.

PLATE 5.—ROWBERROW.

of the high altar, with a tomb "not ignoble in the skill of its sculpture"; and Odo at Canterbury was buried on the south side of the altar with a "pyramid" over his tomb; Odo, it may be remarked, had been Bishop of Ramsbury. The Ramsbury monuments, each consisting of a body stone with a shaft or pyramid with a cross-head, probably stood at the north and south sides of the pre-Norman altar, and were turned out in a broken condition after some great devastation.

The stones are now made safe in the church at Ramsbury (plate 3). The three portions of the shafts are set up one above the other, and the two body-stones lie in front of them. It will be seen at once that the uppermost piece of shaft corresponds with the smaller of the two body stones. The ornamentation which they have in common is bold interlacing work and nondescripts in circles, as outlined in plate 4. The interlacement on the side of the uppermost piece is late in character, being founded on a system of three concentric circles. The manner in which two of the three diametric lines turn back before reaching the centre is very remarkable. The larger body stone is a beautifully designed piece of work, quite unlike that of the other stones. Its character suggests the foreign influence which affected the Winchester school of design in Athelstane's time, through that king's friendship with foreign sovereigns, his brother-in-law Charles the Simple, and his nephew Louis d'Outremer. There is much to be said, on the score of date and design, for the guess that this is the monument of Athelstan, the first Bishop of Ramsbury, who died in 927, two years after his namesake had become King of England.

The dragonesque ornament of the shafts of crosses had in early times a certain vogue among the West Saxons in Wilts and the men of the British parts of Somerset and Devon. It is worthy of notice that the dragon was the emblem both of Wessex and of the

Britons to the west of Wilts; we all of us remember the dragon standard on the Bayeux tapestry, in the scene where Harold's death is shown. The legends of great encounters with dragons not improbably point to fights with one or other of these peoples; and a legend in Somerset of a savage struggle between two dragons may very probably refer to the tug of war when dragon of Bret met West Saxon dragon.

There is at Rowberrow in Somerset, near Axbridge, one panel of the shaft of a cross, the whole of the pattern on which is formed, as at Ramsbury, of one creature of the serpent kind. It is shown in plate 5. The interlacements follow the invariable rule of "alternately under and over," but they are not specially skilful. In the north we should call them poor. The tail of the creature ought by rights to end in its mouth, so that the circuit would be complete; it ends, as will be seen, about the middle of the low side of the figure. In two cases the photograph misleads the eye into seeing a flaw which does not exist.

The two sides of the shaft of a cross at West Camel in Somerset, to the north of Sherborne in Dorset (shown in plates 6 and 7), have their patterns formed of two dragons. The side shown in plate 6 is a fine example of lacertine work. On the other face the heads and mouths and eyes of the two dragons are seen. Above these the face of the cross is divided into two panels by a horizontal bar, and above the bar, in the upper panel, is a pattern of interlacing bands springing as offshoots from a central stem. This combination of the ideas of foliage ornament and interlacing bands is very far from common: my discovery of the Saxon patterns at Littleton Drew, to be described later on, affords the most striking example known to me.

At Dolton, in North Devon, a great shaft of a cross covered with strikingly good work has been cut into two lengths, and the upper half has been turned upside-down and hollowed out for a font. The tapering of the shaft

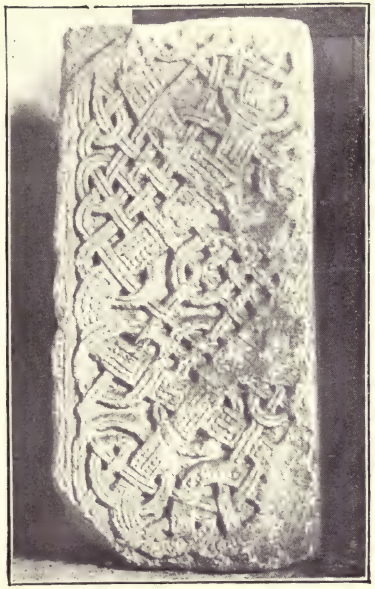

PLATE 6.—WEST CAMEL.

PLATE 7.—WEST CAMEL.

shows that a portion has been lost in the process, and the patterns show that if the two pieces are portions of the same shaft the lost portion included the horizontal bands which divided the faces into panels. Of the four faces of the upper part of the shaft, three are occupied by lacertine ornament, one of which is shown in plate 8. The dragons are eared creatures, with straight snout and puffed cheeks, not unlike the creature at Rowberrow, but more like the mask of a fox. Inasmuch as the interlacing bands in which they are involved do not pass into their mouths as tails, we may understand that the pattern is all formed of one band, swelling out towards its ends into the bodies and heads of these dragons, as the bands which form the pattern in the lower face swell out into necks and heads; though in that case, as will be seen, each creature has the end of a tail in its jaws, probably the tail of the other creature. There are many reasons for thinking that these two fragments are parts of different cross-shafts. If they belong to the same shaft, it was between five and six feet long. In any case, we have both the bottom of a shaft and the top of a shaft, for the patterns in each case finish off completely at one end or the other. The head of the cross would be socketed on to the upper piece above the heads of the dragons.

The probable explanation of this lacertine decoration of the shafts of Christian crosses is that it is meant to represent the old serpent defeated by the power of the Cross, and tied and bound by means of its own self. Where two such creatures are employed, the certain overthrow of Satan divided against himself may be symbolized. But, however true that may be, it is difficult to keep out of consideration the emblems of the West Saxons and the Britons, and to refuse to see any reference to them. It may indeed be possible to go further, and to question whether the dragons on the earliest sculptured stones were the cause or the effect of the dragon emblems and the dragon legends.

The stones at Colerne and Littleton Drew deserve more detailed mention than has been accorded to them above. Plate 2 shows the ornamentation on the two fragments of a shaft at Colerne. There is nothing better anywhere of the dragonesque kind. The two heads shown on one of the fragments are very fine and complete. We evidently have here the fragments of a monument of more than ordinary perfection of design and execution, the working of the scales and markings on the bodies of the dragons being specially careful. It has been a monument of important magnitude also. At the top of the upper fragment the shaft is fourteen inches across, and with a decided increase of breadth downwards it would soon reach very considerable dimensions. The two heads of dragons show the top of the shaft; above them no doubt was the dowel hole for the reception of the massive head of the cross. The other piece, whose ornament consists of the involvements of four great dragons, must have been quite sixteen inches across. There can be very little doubt, if any, that this monument fills all the conditions of period, local style, and importance, which naturally attach to the last resting-place but one before the saint reached his last home in this world. Of the connection of Colerne with Malmesbury we need not now speak. It may be noted here that eight miles from Colerne, over the Mercian border, at the ancient church of Abson, now held with its close neighbour Pucklechurch, where the king's palace and Aldhelm's well were, is a fragment of a Saxon sculptured stone, with a portion of a dragon upon it, of the same type as those at Colerne and Bradford.

Last of all we come to the remarkable stones at Littleton Drew, shown in fig. 3. There are two of them, standing on either side of the path of the churchyard. The stone on the west side of the path would fit on to the top of the other, and together they would be about six feet high. They have formed the shaft of a

PLATE 8.—DOLTON.

cross of very considerable importance, and of the same dimensions as that at Colerne, the width of the face of the shaft at its highest point being a little over fourteen inches; the width of the side of the shaft at that point is about twelve and a half inches.

The sculpture on the south side of each stone has been dressed off when the stones were used for building the Norman or post-Norman church of the parish. Considering the almost universal destruction of the crosses, which must have been a very noble ornament of Anglo-Saxon churchyards, it may fairly be argued that the Normans took their ornamentation to mean that they were offered to evil spirits, and therefore smashed them up and used them for building. There are other indications of the Norman idea that the English were infected with an ingrained leaning towards paganism. However that may have been, the builders who used these two most massive stones dressed one face smooth. The sculpture on the east side of the stone on the east of the path is also destroyed; and the west side of the stone on the west is so much broken that it is not worth reproducing. It is unfortunately on this broken face that the inscription is found which marks out this Littleton cross from all other Anglo-Saxon stones in the districts under survey. They are noble letters, much larger than those on the Ruthwell cross. The only letter of that early period resembling them in size is the great A on the side of Acca's cross which bore a long inscription, a small part still remaining. The Acca A and the Littleton A are each of them a little over three inches long. Acca was a correspondent of Bede, and was a grown man at the time of Aldhelm's death.

What may have been the ornamentation on the south side of each portion of the shaft we cannot say. It is clear that of the other three sides two were occupied by foliaginous designs of a very unusual character, as will be seen from the patterns on two of the faces shewn. It is always perilous to say that a piece of Anglo-Saxon

ornament is unique; but in the present case it is safe to ask where else a monument with this ornament has been found. The remaining face was occupied by a curious combination of the ideas of vegetable growth and interlacement of bands. This has to a large extent perished on one of the portions of the shaft, but on the other it can with patience be made out with tolerable clearness, as shown in the middle figure. Reference has already been made to this combination, in connection with one face of the West Camel stone. The work of the Littleton shaft is much more regular and systematic than the work at West Camel; but there can be no question of the sameness of motive. Whether the dressed face at Littleton carried dragonesque ornament can only be a question of conjecture; but inasmuch as at West Camel the dragonesque detail and the unusual combination referred to are found in adjacent panels on the same face of the shaft, there can be no decisive argument against their having existed on different faces of the Littleton shaft. Thus, however unlike one another the shafts at Littleton and Colerne are, so far as the patterns now existing are concerned, they may have been practically identical.

There are at Minety, a possession of Malmesbury to the north-east of Colerne and Littleton, fragments of a very handsome shaft with foliaginous ornament of exceedingly archaic character; but the work there is of the nature of a flowing stem with spiral tendrils and terminal leaves and flowers, not unlike one of the faces of the grand shaft at Abercorn, which dates from the time we are considering, but has a beautiful freedom in place of the very stiff archaism of the Minety fragments.

While this account was being prepared, two Saxon remains of the highest interest have come to notice. In each case we have what is very rare—the head of the cross; and in each case it is a circular head, called a wheel-cross. Plate 9 shews one of these rare pieces, found in the course of work at the church of Amesbury.

PLATE 9.—AMESBURY.

The cross has had ornamentation of the same general type as that at Bath, plate 1, but simpler in detail and more in accordance with the interlacing patterns on cross heads in the north of England. The chief difference between the Amesbury stone and that at Bath is that at Bath the arms of the cross stood out separate and clear, whereas at

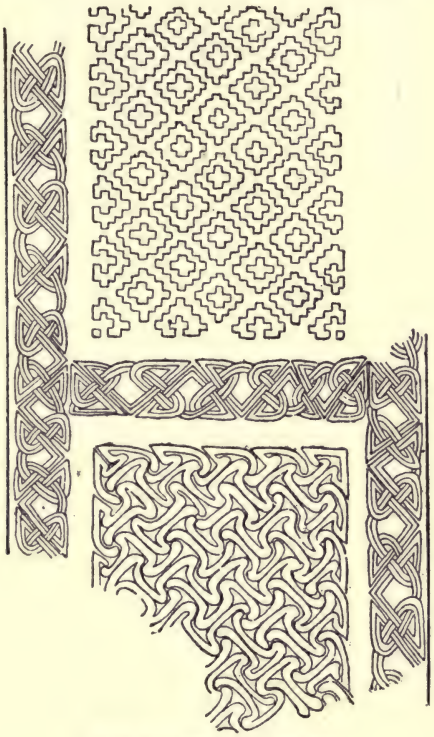

FIG. 5.—Bradford-on-Avon.

Amesbury they were enclosed in a wheel, forming a circle.

The other wheel-cross, if indeed it is not as some think the tympanum of a door, is built into the exterior of the church at Rodbourne Cheney, near Swindon. A complete half of the head is there, so that we know exactly what

its dimensions and ornaments were. It was nearly two feet across, and instead of interlacing patterns filling the keys, a conventional trunk of a tree ran from the centre to the circumference in each key of the cross, with three conventional branches, ending in a fruit, curving out from the trunk on each side, the three from the right of the trunk, along with the three from the left of the trunk in the next key, occupying the space between the keys. If not unique, this is at least very rare. In another part of the exterior wall of the church there is a portion of the shaft of this or another cross, bearing an interlaced pattern.

In considering the probabilities of the very early existence of surface ornament of stone in Wessex, we cannot overlook the very remarkable and massive stone now preserved in Aldhelm's ecclesiola at Bradford-on-Avon, shown in fig. 5. It is a combination of Irish work and Lombardic work. Its dimensions and its thickness show that it served as a jamb to one of the narrow doorways characteristic of the period and of the little church. The divergent spirals are most unmistakably Irish, and the border is Anglian or Lombardic; the remaining pattern is found in one of the Durham manuscripts of date as early as Aldhelm's time. The famous font at Deerhurst in Gloucestershire has the same remarkable combination of unmistakably Irish work with work of a diametrically opposite character, an elegant classical arabesque. For the Irish influence, Maeldubh's presence may afford a sufficient explanation; for the other parts of the artistic work I am disposed not to look to Anglian or any other home influence, but to look boldly to the foreign source, as I believe, of the beautiful work of the Northumbrian Angles, and to look to that source at a date which gives to our Wessex art a great antiquity.

We all know that the West Saxons were not converted by or through the Augustinian mission, but by a separate mission, by the ministry of Birinus. This Birinus was consecrated Bishop at Genoa, by the Pope's advice, in

634; not, as is usually said, by the Bishop of Genoa, but by the Archbishop of Milan, who at that time was living in the city of his southernmost suffragan, at Genoa. Birinus, then, with his Lombardic connection, baptized the King of Wessex at the Oxford Dorchester in 635, our Northumbrian Oswald being by chance at the Court at the time, having come for his bride, the King's daughter.

I do not see why we should have any hesitation in supposing that a man like Birinus, treated with special favour at the King's Court, would naturally establish at once a certain amount of religious pomp and apparatus; and that it would be like in style to that to which he had been accustomed in his home in North Italy, presumably with some blending of the kind of ornament which he found in popular acceptance among his new flock. Indeed, we should be surprised if we learned that he took any other course than this. Thus, without saying that we have in Wessex any work done under the order of Birinus, I think we may fairly say that he would give the first impulse to Christian art there, that it naturally continued for some time at least on the lines on which he started it, and that those lines were such as are revealed to us in the fragments of early monuments we have been considering. The link between the Lombardic and the English art is supplied by the Museum at the Lombardic city of Brescia, where there is sculptured work of precisely the same character as that of our best Anglian remains. In the generation following that of Birinus, Benedict Biscop brought sculptors of stone from Gaul, and we are at liberty to suppose that Gaul in this case meant the district to the south of the crest of the Alps. It must not be forgotten that Benedict Biscop brought his Italian treasures of ecclesiastical art first to Wessex, and it was only when he found his friend no longer king that he took them up to Wearmouth. He may have left a Lombardic mark behind him; possibly a Lombardic mason or apprentice.

G. F. BRISTOL.

ERRATUM

Page 103—For "Colonel *Edward* Ludlow,"
read "Colonel *Edmund* Ludlow."

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